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THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

THE TRAVELS AND CONTROVERSIES OF FRIAR DOMINGO NAVARRETE

1618–1686

VOL. II

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No. CXIX

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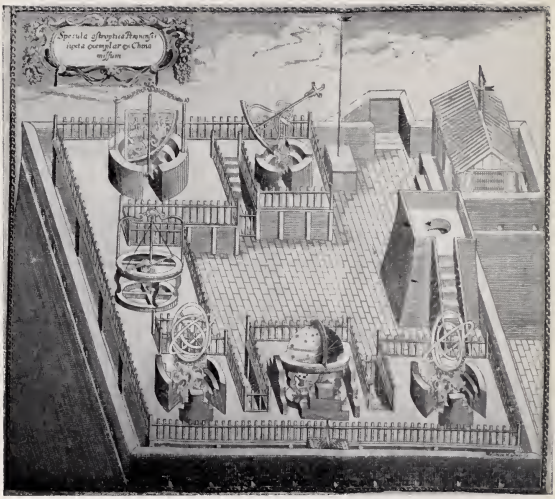

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THE TRAVELS AND CONTROVERSIES OF FRIAR DOMINGO NAVARRETE

1618–1686

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED SOURCES BY

J. S. CUMMINS

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

(For fuller bibliographical details, see the Bibliography)

ACTA	*Acta capitulorum Provinciae S. Rosarii.*
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Quaracchi, 1908–).
AFP	*Analecta Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1893–).
AGI	Archivo general de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo general de la nación, Mexico City.
AGS	Archivo general de Simancas.
AHN	Archivo histórico nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1932–).
AJUDA	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon.
AME	Archives du Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris.
AOPM	Archivum Ordinis Praedicatorum, Manila.
APF	Archivum S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide, Rome.
AROP	Archivum Romanum Ordinis Praedicatorum, Rome.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome.
BAGN	*Boletín del archivo general de la nación,* Dominican Republic.
BEM	*Boletim eclesiástico da diocese de Macau.*
BHS	*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies.*
BM	British Museum, London.
BNM	Biblioteca nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
BVE	Biblioteca Vittorio-Emmanuele, Rome.
C	Navarrete's *Controversias.*
CASA	Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.
CE	*Catholic Encyclopedia.*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.*
EESS	Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede.
EF	*The English Factories in India, 1618–69.*
EF(NS)	*The English Factories in India, New Series, 1670–84.*

'Ends'	MS of the unprinted conclusion of Navarrete's *Controversias*.
FF	Ferrando and Fonseca.
GOA	Arquivo historico do Estado da India Portuguesa, Goa.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission, London.
IOL	India Office, London.
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*.
JMBRAS	*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
JSBRAS	*Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
MH	*Missionalia Hispanica*.
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*.
R	Navarrete's 'Ratificacion'.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
REC	*Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*.
RHM	*Revue d'Histoire des Missions*.
S.Dgo.	MSS referring to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo in AGI.
SinFran	*Sinica Franciscana* (edd. A. van den Wyngaert and G. Mensaert OFM, Quaracchi, 1936–).
T	Navarrete's *Tratados*.
VAT	The Vatican Archives.
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*.

PLATE IX. Procession of a Chinese Viceroy

CHAPTER XII

MY STAY AT FO NGAN, TILL I WENT UP TO CHE KIANG

1. During the forty days I travel'd, I never saw any more than three Women, either in Towns, upon the Road, or at the Inns. One as I went through a Village, another on the Road, and another at a distance from me near a Town. Among us it will seem incredible, among them it will seem too much that I saw three.

2. The Town, or as others call it, City, of Fo Ngan, is very renown'd in the Province of Fo Kien; it suffer'd much upon the coming in of the Tartars, twice they took it, and twice the Chineses beat them out, the third time the latter submitted. The Tartars capitulated to hurt no Man, drew up their Army, and then order'd all that bore Arms to appear; they did so, and 14000 of them were destroy'd. The first of them was a good Christian, and very Learned Man, who was a Commander. The Tartar had a good opinion of him, and he would have been prefer'd had he submitted at the first. A Soldier as he was going to make his appearance before the Tartars, had some business, and said to a Townsman 'I am busy at present, do you appear for me, and here is a Ryal (six Pence*) for you to drink.' He did so and was put to death, the other escap'd; it was very fortunate for the one, and very unlucky in the other.

3. Liu Chung Zao [Liu Chung-tsao; d. 1649], the Chinese General, a Man of great Learning, and brave, finding himself in distress during the Siege resolv'd to poison himself and he invited some Friends to do the same, among them the Christian I spoke of above, whose name was John Mieu. They all excus'd themselves, and he took the Poison alone, dy'd in his Chair of State, where the Tartars found him sitting, and leaning against a Table.

They made many obeisances to the dead Body, and extol'd his Loyalty, since he chose to die rather than to deliver up the City to an Enemy.

4. In one of those Sieges the Venerable Friar Francis de Capillas, of the Monastery of St Paul of Valladolid, and born at Villaquerin de Campos, suffer'd Martyrdom. I saw the place where they cut off his Head, and kiss'd the Ground. His Cause [of Beatification] now lies before the Holy Congregation of Rites at Rome. ⟨In my time the news of that happy Death reached Manila with the Report of it written by Friar John Garcia; it was decided to sing a *Te Deum* and the Cathedral Chapter and the members of the Religious Orders were invited to take part; all came to our Monastery to do so except only the Jesuit Fathers who excused themselves saying that they had received a letter from their Father Gouvea in Fo Kien which presented the Affair in a different Light. [*C* 642][1]⟩

It was in Fo Ngan that my Order had its first Church in China. Here they sow'd the Seed of the Word, and did, and still do reap a plentiful Harvest. What relates to this Particular is being written in our History, so I will proceed, but shall say something more in the Second Volume.[2]

5. I was there told a very remarkable Story, which is as follows: when Liu Chung Zao, whom we mentioned before, was going to fight the Tartars, a Misioner [Father Martini, SJ] attended him with the Title of Mandarine of the Gun-Powder.[3] He took up his Quarters at our Church, where he had the best entertainment

[1] The Blessed Francisco Fernández de Capillas, OP, Dominican protomartyr of China, died on 15 January 1648 (Fernández, 154–5). I do not know the nature of the Jesuits' objection, but presumably they would in any case be reluctant to recognize a friar-martyr in China.

[2] By 'our History' is meant friar Riccio's *Hechos* which was then awaiting publication.

[3] For a discussion of Martini's mandarinate, see B. Biermann, 'War Martin Martini chinesischer Mandarin?', *NZM*, XI (1955), 221–5. Navarrete had no objection to missionaries holding Mandarin or other ranks, but considered Military, Judicial, and Mathematical Mandarinates inappropriate for various reasons (*C* 51, 60–1). Non-Jesuits sometimes held Mandarin rank: e.g. Bishop Lambert de la Motte in Siam (*C* 61); and friar Vittorio Riccio (Blair, XXXVI, 227). At *C* 26 Navarrete relates how Father Martini made cannon and he does not refrain from reporting that the leather breech of some of these blew up; see also R 55.

they could give him. The Father-Mandarine being so great, and those friars of my Order so poor, the Infidels began to doubt whether he and they were both Europeans. To clear this Doubt, it was resolv'd that a friar and the Jesuit-Mandarine should meet in some publick place, and talk together. The time and place were appointed and Friar Francis Diaz, a worthy Missioner and Labourer in God's Vineyard, got up early, and travel'd afoot two Leagues of very bad way. He was cloth'd in Cotton, not in Silk, and came sweating to the place appointed, where the other was in great state in his Sedan and with Attendants like a Mandarine.[1] Our Frier faced him; and when the Father Mandarine saw him from his Sedan in that garb, and without Servants, 'he despis'd him', [2 Kings vi. 16] and went on his way without taking any notice of him, leaving the friar out of countenance in the presence of a thousand Lookers on, and of some Christians who had expected by that means to have gain'd Credit and Honour to their Spiritual Fathers. Afterwards a good Christian ask'd the Father Mandarine, how it came he had put so great an Affront upon the Dominican Father and he answer'd, 'Why should I go out of my Sedan Chair to pay a Complement to a Man in that garb?'[2]

6. Another time the Chinese General spoke ill of us Friers in the hearing of that Mandarine Missioner, and of a Chinese Christian [Joachim]. The reason the General had for it was because a Concubine of his had left him, and was become a Christian. The Father, hearing what the Infidel said, and perceiving he bore us

[1] Friar Juan García described him as travelling 'with banners and spears, with muskets and other insignia, dressed in the silken robe with a golden dragon embroidered on the breast' (Biermann, *Die Anfänge*, 77); on the Military Mandarins' robes see Magalhães, 300, and also S. Cammann, 'Presentation of Dragon Robes by Ming and Ch'ing Courts for Diplomatic Purposes', *Sinologica*, III (1953), 193–202.

[2] Navarrete would have found this story easy to believe, since he himself was snubbed publicly on another occasion: 'We were resting in the Heat of the Day in a Bonzes's Temple both Fair and Neat and where we were treated with every Courtesy, when some people passed near where we were and a certain Person among them turned to them and then looking at us said, "Oh, these Friars!" and with a Motion of the Countenance such that to say the truth we were made asham'd. We answer'd only with a profound Silence' ('Ends', f. 47v). The context shows the 'certain Person' to have been a Jesuit.

friars ill-will, said 'Sung Ta Men Ki Pa', which is as much as if in our Language he had said, 'Turn them out of the Kingdom, and let them be gone.' The Infidel arch'd his Brows and the Christian, amaz'd, fix'd his eyes on the Father. Observe how those Heathen us'd me, and how one Missioner uses another.[1] In short 'The Potter hates the Potter'. Notwithstanding all this, that Jesuit Father afterwards desir'd our Friers to procure him a faithful Christian Servant to wait upon him, and they got him one whom he took back into Europe where he made him pass for a Gentleman and an able Physician. The Jesuit and he were together in Rome and the Father forbade the Chinese to visit our Dominican Monastery of Minerva. Our Father-General wrote us this intelligence into China; I saw, read, and had his Letter in my hands. ⟨The Servant, whose Name was Dominick, had been baptiz'd by the Religious of my Order, whom he had served, and after them the Franciscans. This Man was much respected in Italy and Germany and the Emperor [Leopold of Austria] himself did him an extraordinary and excessive Honour. One who was present at that time in Vienna, and knew both the Chinese and the Missioner very well, assur'd me that the Emperor spoke to him with his Hat in his hand. Doubtless they pretended he was a King, or Son to the Emperor of China! [*T* 25][2]⟩

7. I came to the Church the 3d of November, as I said above, and presently apply'd my self to the study of that dreadful and stupendious Language; there are few but find great discouragement in it, I labour'd all I could. Mattins were always said at Midnight; and it was usual with me to sit in my Chair after them

[1] This story was told by García (Biermann, *Die Anfänge*, 78); it may have been partly due to Martini's expressing himself badly, for his Chinese was apparently not good and he himself confessed that after ten years' study he could only read a small prayer-book (Dapper, 718). See also the implied criticism of his colleague Magalhães (17). For some of his works Martini was said to have used Gouveia's material (*C* 107), although—ideally at least—this was considered legitimate, all knowledge being regarded as common property for the welfare of the mission (B. Szcześniak, 'The seventeenth century maps of China . . .', *Imago Mundi*, XIII (1956), 131).

[2] Navarrete got this gossip from the Jesuit, Father Christian Herdtrich (Pfister, 363–6) and Francisco Fabre, a Court Secretary in Madrid (*C* 618; R 6); Cortés Osorio (14), the Jesuit spokesman, later explained that Herdtrich was joking.

till Morning at my Study. Continual application overcame the difficulty in great measure. It pleas'd God I preach'd in the Church the second Sunday in Lent, which but two months before I thought impossible to be done in two years. I was commanded by my Superiors to study the Characters, and thought it a difficult Task; I began with infinite reluctancy, but in a few months was so fond of it, that I could not put down my Books for a moment. ⟨I apply'd my self to learn the Mandarine Language, with so much application, that I sometimes went to Bed with my Spectacles on my Nose, and the best of it was, that the next day I could not find them till after Dinner, tho till then I had sought about for them very carefully. At another time I was a quarter of an hour looking for my Spectacles, and had them all the while on my Nose. I became a little impatient; when my Companion came to me, and I complaining that I could not find them, he very pleasantly took them off my Nose and gave them me. [*T* 156]⟩ This study is so necessary, that without it there is no coming to a right understanding of the Errors they profess, nor opposing them, nor conversing with the Learned.[1] In the two Years I continu'd in that Province, I came to hear Confessions, preach'd with some ease, read some Books, and discours'd concerning Matters of Faith with Heathens and Christians.

⟨The first Chinese Letters or Characters began by painting of things; in process of time they shortned it, leaving only a part of the thing to signify the whole. The Letters or Characters now in use were invented whilst the family Han possess'd the Empire, at which time the Son of God became Man. The number of Letters they use is excessive. The Dictionary I had, and lost in my Travels, which was that commonly us'd, contained 33375 letters.

[1] The Jesuits sometimes claimed that the friars, being limited to the knowledge of certain dialects only, could not understand the nature of Chinese religious thought. In fact, however, the friars studied not only the local dialect but also Mandarin, the official *lingua franca* of the Empire: 'all reached a more than reasonable knowledge of Mandarin, the common language of the Empire' (*C* 53). In any case ignorance of dialects had nothing to do with the study of texts since the written character in Chinese can be understood throughout the land. On the literary, colloquial and mandarin languages, see Dyer Ball, 177–84, 316–22, 365.

There is another antienter and fuller, which contains 70,000.[1] It is a dismal thing for us that study there, to think on this vast multitude of Characters, it quite disheartens a Man, did not our Lord on the side encourage us. It is true, that he who can make good use of 20,000 is a good Scholar. I, whilst I was in China, through God's Mercy, attained to the knowledge of above 10,000, which inabled me without much difficulty to compose five Volumes concerning our Holy Faith; whereof, according to Letters that came to me here in Europe in the Year 1674, four are printed by this time.

The first Book I read in that Country, and which I took a great fancy to, because of its Plainness and Brevity is the Book that Nation calls *Ming Sin Pao Kien*, i.e. The Precious Mirror of the Soul; or, The precious Mirror that enlightens and diffuses a Brightness into the Heart, and inward part of Man. The said Book is made up of Sentences of several Authors, and of several Sects; the whole Subject is Morals and I doubt not but any Man may find enough in it to make Profit of. A very good Christian of ours, and an able Scholar, whose Name was John Mieu, speaking of this Book, said, 'As St Thomas chose, and gather'd what he lik'd best out of holy Doctors to compose his *Catena Aurea*; so the Author of this Book extracted out of all our Authors, what he thought most conducing to make known the way of Virtue.' I resolv'd to give an account of this Book and in the Translation I observe the Rule of St Jerome, That the Septuagint did not translate Word for Word, but Sentence for Sentence. I am satisfied my Language will not reach the Chinese Propriety of Expression, nor their Elegancy, which this Nation has in an extraordinary measure for explaining and delivering their Conceits. I will observe the Author's method, tho I will not always set down the Authors he quotes, because it makes nothing to our purpose, and to save the trouble of words which are harsh to Europeans. It cannot be deny'd but that it is commendable in the Missioners to study Heathen Books, since the Primitive Saints and Fathers did so; and sometimes this Employment is absolutely necessary. How

[1] 49,000 characters are given in the dictionary *Khang-Hsi Tzu Tien* of 1716 (Needham, 1, 32).

else could we in China oppose abundance of Errors that those Heathens hold, if we did not read and study their Books and Doctrine? It were also useful to make our benefit of what Truth there is found in them so that after clearing and cleansing the Chinese Doctrine of what is destructive in it, we may reap some Profit and Advantage by it. For these Reasons I have given, I resolv'd to translate this little Book, which in truth has among the Gentiles the same place that the devout *a Kempis* has among Catholicks. I slightly pass over the Dogmatical Precepts of Sects, because it is a Subject that requires to be handled by it self, and the main Points of it have been discuss'd in my Controversies.[1]

After having writ and observ'd what has been hinted above, I reflected that Father James de Morales of the Society of Jesus, handles the Point at large in his Treatises. But what I have alledg'd in this place, with what I write in several parts of my Controversies, and shall urge hereafter is sufficient to prove and make good my Assertion.[2]

Another of the great troubles we Missioners of China undergo, is to learn the Ceremonies and Civilities of that Country. Some look upon this as a needless, tiresom, and impertinent business, but in truth it is not only convenient but absolutely necessary towards conversing with that courteous and polite People. According to the saying, When you are at Rome, do as they do at Rome. Which Proverb the Chinese Nation has, but more at large. The Doctrine they call *Li Ki* speaks thus: 'When a Man comes into any Precinct, he ought to ask what is forbidden there, that he may not offend the Lord of it; when he comes into a House, he must ask for the Master of it, to thank him for the Courtesie and Civility he receives there; the contrary is opposite to good breeding. When he comes into a Kingdom, he must inquire into the Customs and Manners, for otherwise he will offend the

[1] Navarrete's translation of the *Ming Sin Pao Kien,* which is omitted here, is to be found in the *T* 173–245.

[2] This is sometimes misconstrued (e.g. P. Pelliot, 'Notas sobre algunos libros y documentos orientales que se conservan en España', *Residencia,* 1 (1932), 132) to mean that Diego Morales, SJ, also translated the *Ming Sin Pao Kien*; in fact, Navarrete means that Morales agrees that 'Heathen Books' must be studied by missionaries.

People, who will imagin he blames and condemns them, so that all Men will shun and avoid him.' Now since, to attain the end the Missioners aspire to, it is necessary that instead of avoiding them, the Infidels should seek for and converse with them, it follows that it is very necessary and advantageous to imitate their Customs, and use their Ceremonies. This being procured, a way is thereby made to discourse of the grand affair of the Soul, which is it that carries us to Regions so far distant from our Native Soil.

The Chinese Ceremonies in point of civility are very numerous and extensive; they have many printed Books that treat of this matter. I give it for granted that polite carriage and courtesie are Virtues, and a part of Prudence, on which Subject you may read St Thomas. The Chinese Books teach what we are to talk about with a Husbandman, and how to converse with him, how with a Student, a Licentiate, a Doctor, a Little or Great Mandarine, what words are to be us'd in naming of them; what must be said and discours'd at the first Visit, what at the second, what Questions are to be ask'd, how the upper hand is to be given or taken, where the Visit is to be receiv'd, and where leave to be taken. They observe so many Niceties in this point, that to say the truth, it requires a great deal of patience to be thoroughly inform'd in it, and much resignation to spend the time that is requisite in studying it. The Fathers of the Society have a Book that handles this matter, and sets down the Questions usually ask'd at Visits; it came to my hand, and I and others made our advantage of it. One of the usual Questions is, How many Children have you, Sir? I was inform'd that a Father meeting with an Eunuch, ask'd him, How many Children have you, Sir? At which he was much out of countenance. It is a plain case that all Questions don't sute with all sorts of Persons. A Mandarine ask'd one of my Order, How many Wives have you, Sir? Now the civil name for a Wife and a Church being the same, the words going before vary, he understood the Chinese inquir'd concerning Churches, and he answer'd, Three. Yet afterwards he found his mistake, and they came to a better understanding. There are very few but what have made false steps in this particular; nor is it to be admir'd, for it is well known that the Chinese Language has the most double

meanings of any in the World. That Empire being of so great an extent there is some, tho but little, diversity in their Ceremonies. In the Northern Provinces the right-hand is most honourable; in the Southern, the Left.

In short, there is no matter, tho never so minute, but what the Chineses have writ upon it, and practise it punctually. What the Missioners most admire is, that the very same Complements which are us'd at Court, are practised in the very words not only in the Cities and Towns, but even in all the Villages, Hamlets, and Country-Houses there are throughout all the Empire, so that all of it is a veritable Court, and its Inhabitants are all Courtiers. The reason of it is, because all Men study this point; and therefore it appears, and I have often seen it, that a Child of eight years of age performs all points of Civility as nicely as a Man of fifty, which is very strange. Lads at nine or ten years of age observe the same method among themselves, as gravely as if they were well in years. Hugo Cardenalis asks, why Isaiah was so Eloquent and Amos on the contrary so blunt?[1] He answers, that Isaiah was a Courtier, and Man of fashion ('a black-cap'd Man', as we call it) but Amos was a Shepherd, bred in the Fields, and a mere Countryman. This distinction is to be found in those Countries and in Europe, but not in China. For the Mechanicks, Plowmen, and Porters, are all Men of fashion, for they are all very full of Civility, and express themselves in the same words, as they do in the Capital Cities.

And it is to be observ'd closely that it is never known in China that they hoot at Men or Women, howsoever they go about or are clad. The same is observ'd in the Country, whether you travel by Land or by Water, and they never fail of their usual Civilities. These things very often made us stand amaz'd, and we could not but remember the rude Scoffings, the insolent and shameless Expressions so commonly us'd in our Countrys, in Citys, or upon the Road and in other Places, to Gentlemen, to elderly Persons, to modest Maids and Churchmen. And notwithstanding all this those Chineses pass for Barbarians, and we be look'd upon as very much civiliz'd. In Winter some People there go abroad

[1] For Hugo de S. Charo, see Quétif and Échard, I, 194 ff.

in such strange odd Figures, that a Man must be very mortify'd to forbear laughing at them. Nevertheless, the good Carriage, Modesty and Civility of those People makes them pass by all, without any exteriour demonstration.[1]〉

8. I observ'd during that time that the Chineses confidently reported that their Emperor [the Shun-chih Emperor] should die in the eighteenth Year of his Reign. The Chineses reckon their Emperors Lives by the Years of their Reign, as we do the Pope's; but it is not true to say they have no other computation of Years, as Father Trigaucius, Cornelius a Lapide, Tirinon and Kircher affirm.[2] We know they reckon the Year by Moons, allowing twelve to a Year, and thirteen to the Leap-year, wherein they agree with the Jews. To conclude, the Chinese Prophecy prov'd true, 'Xe Pa Chung', that is, he will end the 18th Year of his Reign [1661]. They also gave out they would banish the Law of God [Christianity], this was talk'd of three Years before it hap'ned but was all the easier to be known, because our Enemy was already contriving the mischief.[3]

9. At an examination of Batchelors, some things remarkable hap'ned to certain Christians; One of them liv'd near the Church, was an extraordinary good Christian, and being old us'd Spectacles. He went to the Examination without them, through forgetfulness and was utterly undone, for there was no avoiding losing his Degree, being whip'd, and undergoing the shame that follows of consequence. He told me he clap'd his hands upon his Face, and offer'd up to God that Trouble and Affliction he was fallen into, after he had for many Years held his Degree with Honour and Reputation. He pray'd, then open'd his Eyes, and it seemed to him that his sight was very clear so taking the Brush, he began

[1] *T* 36, 69–72, 169, 173–4.

[2] For Nicholas Trigault, SJ, see Pfister, 111–20; for the Flemish Jesuit exegete Lapide, see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1890–1909), IV, 1511–26, and IX, 573; for Kircher, see R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Aachen, 1916–), V, 830–1; for J. Tirinus, SJ, see Sommervogel, VIII, 49. For the Chinese Calendar, see Dyer Ball, 662–4.

[3] The 'enemy' was Yang Kuang-hsien (1597–1669), a professional opponent of the Jesuits; he collaborated with the disgruntled Moslem astronomers displaced by the Fathers in the Calendar Bureau and his denunciations of the missionaries led to the persecution of 1664 (Hummel, II, 889–92; Needham, III, 449).

and ended his Exercise, admiring at himself; and it prov'd so good, that he receiv'd a Premium for it. Of course, there is no doubt but it might happen naturally, but it might be that God did specially aid him.

10. Another, who was newly baptiz'd in his Rhetorick [i.e. just graduated], committed a gross Fault, which deserv'd a whipping at least. He offer'd up his Prayer to God, and made up his Paper the best he could. It was a strange thing that the Fault was not perceiv'd; and his Composition was not only approv'd of, but he was prefer'd a step higher for it. The other Christian Batchelors, all of them had Premiums that Year, which the Infidels took notice of.

11. I was alone a few days in a Town, where that hap'ned to me which I mention'd in another place, which was, that an Infidel bid me go preach at Manila, where there was more need of it than in their Kingdom.

〈And if they knew about the state of Christian Europe, there is no doubt but they would bid us return to our own Country to preach; as one who had been at Manila told me: 'What do you come hither for?' cry'd he as loud as he could, 'Go preach at Manila, for I know very well how things are there; we have no need of you here, we know our duty.' I must confess he put me out of countenance, and ashamed. Not long before, as one of my Order was preaching to some honest Infidels, a Merchant just return'd from Manila came in; he began to talk concerning his Voyage and Trade, and said, 'I'll go no more to Manila, but to Japan I will.[1] One reason is, because at Japan there are more Commodities to lay out my Money upon. Another, because the People of Japan are better than those of Manila.' Those who were

[1] The friar was García (R 15). Separation of converts from 'cradle Catholics' was a constant problem. The Chinese friar Lo and Francisco Varo, when they had to take converts to Manila on business, never allowed them to go out alone (Varo, letter of 18 December 1671, CASA 1074, f. 291). In Japan the Jesuits said separate Masses for converts and Portuguese Catholics (Boxer, *Christian Century*, 460); the sixteenth-century friar G. de Mendieta (*Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Mexico, 1870), 496–513) advocated a similar policy with the Indians; González de Mendoza (II, 264) describes Indians deferring Baptism 'because there were Spaniard Souldiers in glory, they woud not go thither because they would not be in their company'.

in the company before his arrival now fix'd their eyes upon the Missioner, who they knew came from Manila; the Merchant, however, knew him not. 'I was quite out of countenance,' said the Religious to me, 'and went as cold as Snow and I return'd home without the least courage or heart to prosecute what I had begun.' Here I could make many Reflections upon this Passage but let it suffice for the present that in the judgment of a Heathen, the Christians of Manila are worse than the Infidels of Japan. What a fine help they give with such example and works towards the Conversion of the vast number of Gentiles that resorts to Manila! All we Missioners say, 'It is God's special Providence that the Chineses don't know what is done in Christendom, for if they did there would be never a Man among them but would spit in our faces.'[1] It has been sufficiently observ'd and declar'd that rare are the Conversions in those parts where the Gentiles converse with our People, that is at Macao and Manila; and if it happens any one does, he proves such that it were better he had never been Baptized. What has been written may suffice to humble the vanity of those who boast they go thither to people those Countries so that they may contribute to the conversion of Souls. A Chinese Bookseller of Manila said to me, 'Father, if I were to be baptiz'd, I'd not be a Christian like these Soldiers, nor others who are here. For they have but the name of Christian, and their Deeds and Lives are worse than any; I, tho' I be a Gentile, am asham'd to behave like them.' And I was asham'd indeed to hear these things from that Man.[2] At that time there liv'd in Manila,

[1] This, Navarrete's most celebrated remark, was widely quoted especially by the Deists (see M. Tindal, *Christianity as Old as The Creation* (London, 1731), 371–2); and it is still being repeated (L. Stephen, *A History of English Thought in the 18th Century* (London, 1927), I, 144). Voltaire, though he quotes Navarrete in the original Spanish, does not appear to have had either of his books in his library; Tindal probably drew his attention to Navarrete. See G. R. Havens, 'Voltaire's Books', *Modern Philology*, XXVII (1929–30), 19.

[2] On the other hand, not all the Chinese traders were so naïve: '. . . all the Chinese that go there for Commerce, get a little Brass Image hung about their Neck, with a String of Beads in their Hands, and learning to cross themselves, cry *Jesu Sancta Malia* (for they cannot pronounce *Maria*). I say, when they have got all those forenamed Qualifications, they are good Spanish Christians. And when they have feathered their Nest by cheating the Spaniard, and taken their Leave of Manilla . . . at their passing by a Mountain dedicated to the Virgin Mary, they throw their Beads over

and still lives there I think, a Man of good reputation and much authority, nam'd Captain Thomas de Cardenas. He said to me, 'Indeed, Father, we ought to behave among these Heathens with the greatest Prudence giving them a good example in all things and never the slightest occasion of Scandal, in order thus to draw them to our Holy Faith.' He said well for it is almost a miracle that any Chineses, or others of those Parts, are converted. Those Heathen who live apart and far from our People, hearing the Doctrine which we preach to them, form and hold an admirable Opinion of all Christians, bas'd on a belief that they observe the Religion they profess. Hence it happens that, hearing perhaps that there are Wars between Christian Kings, and that there are Sinners among us, they are scandaliz'd; and tho both the one and the other are explain'd to them, yet they are not quieted, for it seems to them that these things are incompatible with a Faith so holy and pure.[1]⟩ As I was one day at my study, two Infidels open'd my Cell-door very softly; on my Table was a Crucifix, they stood looking at it until, making some little noise, I look'd about, saw them, and rose to ask what they wanted. They said, they were going to see the Church, and had a mind to see me, but that they were surpriz'd at the sight of that Image, which had mov'd their Hearts to some tenderness. What I write is the very truth, let others [i.e. Jesuits] write or say what they please. Before this, when I was at Fo Ngan, the same thing hap'ned to me twice; and when I spoke something concerning that Divine Mystery to those Infidels, they knit their Brows, and paid respect and honour to that Holy Image. About this time a Heathen Graduate, who lay very sick, sent for me; he had read some Books of ours, and God had touch'd his Heart. He earnestly desir'd to be baptiz'd; I instructed him the best I could, and caus'd some who were Christians of long standing to discourse him. Ten days after he had devoutly receiv'd the Sacraments, he went to injoy the sight of God, as I piously believe.

12. As I went one day to see him, some Christians and infidels

Board, and thank the Virgin for her kindness to them' (A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies* (London, 1930), II, 158).

[1] *T* 98; *C* 59–60.

went with me. I heard an Infidel Literatus say to a Christian, 'Is it possible none can be saved without being of this Religion, and that all our Forefathers and ancestors who had no knowledge of it are damn'd? This is a hard case. If God be as merciful as these Men preach, and one Person was incarnate there in Europe to save those Men, would it not have been proper that another Person should have taken human Flesh here to redeem us, and not leave us so many thousands of Years in a desperate condition?' I was much troubled that I was not so perfect in the Language at that time, as to answer fully and satisfactorily as the case requir'd. Nevertheless that he might understand something of it, I gave him a Book that treated upon the very Subject. He went his way hammering upon this Point, and God calling him, he came afterwards and desir'd to be baptiz'd, his Wife and two Sons were also baptiz'd; so all came into the Church, and after them their Sons two Wives. Later the whole Family was sensible of God's special protection in an assault of some Rebels.

13. There was in that place a Christian Batchelor, whose name was Thomas, a Man of excellent Wit, and much Reputation. Once, practising the Language, I expounded to him the Mystery of the Incarnation. When I had spoke what was material to the Point, he took me up very short, and said, 'If it is so that God show'd his infinite Love and Charity in this Mystery, it had been more convenient that the Holy Ghost had become Man, since Love is his peculiar Attribute, and not the Son, whose Attribute is Wisdom.' The Chinese made a good Reflection, and press'd it home with great Energy; for my part I was amaz'd, and so were others. There occurr'd to me what I had read in St Thomas Aquinas, who treating of this same Subject, brings Conveniency as the Reason and Answer, (3.p.q.3.art.4) saying, 'That the Re-Creation might correspond to the Creation.' The Creation of the World was through the Son, according to the Words, 'In the beginning, that is, in the Son.' It was, thus, proper that the Re-Creation, or Reparation, should similarly correspond. The Chinese understood this, and was satisfy'd.[1]

[1] Navarrete is out both in quotation and source: Churchill more so. Aquinas (*Summa*, pt. III. Quaest. III, Art. VIII) argues thus: 'The first creation of things

14. Near to the Church there liv'd an Infidel Scholar who was Retired; he liv'd apart, was much of a Stoick, and therefore in great esteem. He had a good opinion of the Law of God, insomuch that he himself in my time, perswaded his Wife and two Sons to be baptiz'd; I baptiz'd the Sons and my Superior baptiz'd the Wife: Yet he could not resolve as to himself, and all his objection was, that he thought it very indecent for God to be present in the Host, and expos'd to be receiv'd by bad Christians. Very much was said to him upon this account, but still he was obstinate, till it pleas'd God to move him effectually. The Persecution was then beginning, when one would have thought he should have been the further from embracing our Holy Faith, as being condemn'd by the Emperor, and would endeavour to make his Wife and Children forsake it. But then it was that God shew'd his mercy towards him, enlightening his understanding, and inclining his will to receive Baptism, as he actually did. Above 250 were baptiz'd during those two years, and had not the Wars hapned at the same time, the increase of Christianity had been great. They burnt five Churches of ours, two in my time, one of them the biggest there ever was in China. It was built by an excellent Christian Chinese, who had been at Manila, and seen our Churches; he return'd to his Country, came to be a Mandarine, and in his own Town he built a Church exactly like that he had seen at Manila, in bigness, shape, and ornament. A Christian Woman whose manner of living was scandalous liv'd with her Family in a Country-house near the Sea. One night when all the Family was asleep, a Tiger got in and carry'd her away, which the Christians look'd upon it as a judgment of God.

〈Notwithstanding the general Tenderness of Women, especially of Mothers, for those they have bore in their Womb, yet there is the greatest Cruelty imaginable among the Chinese Women towards their Daughters. Very many of them, as well rich as poor, when they are deliver'd of Daughters, stifle and kill

was brought about by the power of God the Father, through the Word; Whence also the Re-Creation had to be brought about through the Word, by the power of God the Father, in order that the Re-Creation might correspond to the Creation, according to II. Cor. v, 19: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself".'

them; those who are something more tender-hearted, leave them under a large Vessel, where they let them die in great Misery and Pain. I saw one that had been three Days in that Condition, it cried and groan'd as might move a Stone to Compasion, and only a Board parted her from her cruel Mother's Bed. I saw her Father, her Grandfather and Grandmother, who often pass'd by the Vessel; and she that had pierced my Heart with her Cries, could make no slightest Dent in the Bowels of those Tigers. I begged the Child and they granted my Request, though sometimes they refuse so charitable a Request; we lifted up the Vessel, the Child lay on her Back crying to Heaven for Relief, her little Feet and Arms drawn up, her Back lay upon hard Stones in wet and mud. I was amazed to see it had lived three Days and three Nights in that condition: her Colour was so high it looked like the very Blood. I carried her away, baptized her, called her Mary and gave her to a Christian Woman to nurse. Within a few Days it appeared how much harm that brief but most miserable way of Living had done. All her Sinews contracted, and God who preserv'd Moses in the Osier Basket, kept this innocent Babe three days under that Vessel in order to take her to Heaven within a Month after she was baptized. The Christians agreed there were about 10,000 Female Children murdered thus every Year within the Precinct of the City of Lan Ki where I lived some time. How many then must we imagine perished throughout the whole Empire? But who will wonder at this, since we know the same was practised in Spain upon both Males and Females, only upon the beastly Motive of satisfying Lust? The Third Council of Toledo [A.D. 589], Canon 17, has these Words: 'That Parents in some parts of Spain murder their Children thro the Desire of Fornication and for want of Tenderness, &c.' [*T* 84]⟩

15. In August I was sent for to a small Town, to hear the Confession of a sick Woman; I went and gave her the Viaticum, and all the Family confess'd and receiv'd. They were all extraordinarily good Christians, and well instructed in the Faith. The Inhabitants of the next House were their Relations, but profess'd Enemies of the Law of God, yet it pleas'd his Divine Majesty they

soon after were convinced and were baptiz'd. As I return'd it rain'd hard, and the North wind blew; the Cold and Rain pierced me, and being afoot in some places the water was half way my Legs. Being come home before I had time to rest me, I went to hear the Confession of a poor Old Man, and gave him the Extreme Unction and this struck me into an Ague, which was very troublesome. After the Feast of our Lady in September [8], news came that our relief was sent us from Manila which it was a great comfort, for in truth we were in want. But it pleas'd God, as a punishment of my sins, that when it was ashore safe from Sea-robbers, as it came up a River all was stolen save one hundred Pieces of Eight that a Christian hid; the Thieves were taken afterwards, and confessing this Robbery among others, were put to Death; but we remain'd eleven Religious of us with only one hundred Pieces of Eight among us.[1] In November following Frier John Polanco, a notable Missioner and Religious, went over to Manila; he dy'd, after having labour'd very much, at Sevil in the year 1671, being then Bishop Elect of New Caceres in the Philippine Islands. I was order'd to go up to the Province of Che Kiang [Chê-kiang] in his stead, as accordingly I did, and shall relate in the next Chapter.

[1] On the cost of living in China for a missionary see *SinFran* III, 471–2, 478; IV, 385. For a comparison between the expenses of friars and of the Jesuits, 'who live like gentlemen,' see *SinFran* III, 433–4, and C 428, where Navarrete wishes the friars 'ate as well as even the Jesuits' servants'. Alms were sent to the friars by the Spanish kings: e.g. the royal order of 1672 commanding the Viceroy of Mexico to send 1,500 *pesos* annually for five years to friar Ibáñez and eight Franciscans in China (AGN, Reales Cédulas XIII, f. 276). But, as Navarrete relates here, this help was sometimes lost and the friars left destitute. On one occasion two Franciscans were reduced to eating grass plucked from the moat of Canton.

CHAPTER XIII

MY JOURNEY TO CHE KIANG, AND STAY THERE TILL THE PERSECUTION

1. Now speaking the Language, and my Beard being grown, this Journey was easier to me than the first, tho I went in some fear, because I carry'd Wine with me to serve for saying Mass, and half the Money that had been sav'd from the Robbers. With me went two Christians, and an Infidel who was upon his Conversion; they were Country Men of the Inland, and most excellent natur'd Men. Upon the second day I came to the highest Mountain I ever saw in my Life and this, together with several others that I cross'd in eleven days of travelling did grind down my very Soul.

All China is furnish'd with excellently order'd Roads ⟨which are never without Wells or Springs of excellent Water for Travellers, and generally by the Well is a fine earthen Dish to drink out of, and no body dares steal it away; now if that were done among us, all the earthen Ware in China would not suffice for one single Fountain. Besides this, along the Roads, about a League distance, and sometimes not above half a League, there are excellent resting-places, with good Seats, and well cover'd with Tiles. Here Travellers meet, rest them, chat, and are shelter'd from the Heat in Summer, and from the Rain and Cold in Winter.[1] There are also at every Step on the Roads, very decent, cleanly and convenient places where Passengers ease themselves; and even to make Water there are places no less decent.

I have often seen on the Roads, at a League or two, or sometimes less distance, there are Men who weave Buskins for the People that travel afoot; so that those who come to these places, if their

[1] These resting-places were used by officials and maintained at the Emperor's cost (Couling, 112; Magalhães, 38–40).

Buskins are torn or out of order, change them, or buy new ones, and need not carry more than they have on. Hundreds of them may be bought by the way at four-pence half-penny the pair.

The ascents and descents of steep Mountains are so handsomely cut out in Steps, that nothing can be finer. There is scarce a Stream, or a little Brook without a handsome Stone Bridg; and if there happens to be no Stone, they build it of excellent Timber. It cannot be deny'd but that the Chineses are curious, and provident in what relates to the publick Good. They make these things their peculiar care, and in truth they prosper in their hands, for the People being numerous, there are enough to mind every thing. I have seen a Road mended in so short a time that I stood amaz'd; such a Work would not be finish'd in Spain in a Year, nor perhaps in many [*T* 47, 114]⟩

On this Journey I saw several Temples of the Bonzes, some upon high Mountains, and the Ascent so rough and difficult, that it was terrible to look at them. Others were in deep Valleys, others close by the Road. These last had hot water at the Doors, with the herb Cha for Passengers to drink. At some stopping places there were Bonzes in little Houses, where they had Idols, and the same sort of Liquor; the Bonze offer'd it very courteously, and with much gravity and modesty. If they gave him any thing, he took it, making a low Obeisance and returning thanks for it; if not, he stood stock still, without stirring. I never gave these People any thing.

2. We came to the limits of the province of Che Kiang, the Gate was betwixt two vast high Rocks, there stood a Guard of Soldiers; in the middle between that and another Gate were their Quarters. There we stopp'd a while, they gave us Cha, and very courteously said, 'There is no doubt but this Gentleman has an Order to pass this burden.' The Infidel Chinese answer'd, 'It has all been search'd, Sir, here are the Certificates.' 'Enough, enough,' said the Soldiers. Now, to say the truth, nothing had been search'd, but they spoke not a word more and so we took our leaves according to their fashion, and went on. This was done by Heathen and Idolatrous Soldiers; we shall see in its proper place how Christians behav'd themselves in this respect. I observ'd that

and also other such Passes, and methinks it is impossible for an Army to force them against a handful of Men, tho they had no Weapons but Staves for they are so narrow that two cannot go a breast; the Chineses with but indifferent valour might have reliev'd themselves of innumerable multitudes of Tartars in such Passes. Soon after we came to another narrow Pass like the former, but the Guard was much more numerous. Here we rested, and warm'd our selves at the Sun. I saw a Temple there was there, every body made Obeisance to me, and none ask'd me even a question. During that time I observ'd, that a Woman was coming up from a deep Valley, and as I could guess she was going to a Temple that stood on a Hill hard by. She came up to the Soldiers, they all stood up, and very gravely bow'd to her, which she answer'd very modestly, and went on. I was astonish'd that this should happen among Infidels, when at the same time there is so much impudence in our Countrys. We ought all to be asham'd and confounded at it.

3. I was notably made much of in that Journey. In one Inn I saw a Woman, which was the first and last I ever saw in an Inn, tho I lay in very many.

4. I arriv'd at the City Kin Hoa [Chin-hua], that is 'Flower of Gold', because there is a Hill by it that bears abundance of Gold Flowers, or Walwort. The Church there had not been founded a year, so that there were but few Christians. I baptiz'd some, and among them a Licentiate, a Batchelor, and a Taylor. I baptiz'd one more, who was a Merchant, but he came to naught. The case was, that he learn'd the necessary Prayer for Baptism and when a violent sickness seiz'd him, he came to the Church desiring me to baptize him; I made him return home, instructed, baptized, and gave him Rosary Beads, Pictures, and Holy Water, and encourag'd him to expect Death, with great assurance that God would be merciful to him. A Brother of his who was an Infidel dislik'd what was done, went to his House, made himself Master of it, and deny'd me admittance; he call'd the Bonzes, then perverted and made him an Apostate. And soon he dy'd and went to Hell baptiz'd. Oh the depth of the riches of God's Wisdom and Knowledg! &c.

5. A few Months afterwards I went to a Village, where there were good Christians, and there I apply'd my self to writing of some Books which I thought very necessary. They were four Volumes in which explicating Christian Truths, I impugned the Errors of that Nation. I am satisfy'd they were approv'd of by Learned Christian converts of the Society of Jesus and by others of our Order. An antient Christian Batchelor, a Jesuit convert, whose name was Matthew, read them, and when he had done, said, 'Till now I was not perfectly instructed in the Law of God.' I preach'd often in that Village and a Youth who prov'd a good Christian was baptiz'd, and an antient Woman, besides others who relaps'd later on.

6. Here it is to be observ'd, that in a discussion we [Missioners, Jesuits and Friars] had at Canton touching some Ceremonies, whether they were Political or Superstitious, in the answer Father Favre gave in opposition to my Opinion, he puts the question, What Gentiles I had baptiz'd, since I held that Opinion? Or how many Infidels I had converted at Kin Hoa? This he started after I came out of my Detention. What I would have answer'd him had I been present there, I will briefly insert here, reserving the principal matter for the second Tome.

7. In the first place, God did not command me to convert, but to preach: 'Preach the Gospel,' &c. Cajetan says that Conversion is the work of God, not of the Preacher, which answers the Question, granting I preach'd and taught the Doctrine and Points ascertained at Rome. (2) It is a receiv'd opinion, that the Apostle St James converted only seven Persons in Spain, but that does not make it lawful to slander the Doctrine he preach'd. (3) That during that time I sow'd the seed of the Word, both by Preaching and Writing, which I hope in God will yet yield a good Crop. (4) I ask'd of Father Favre and other Jesuit Fathers, what Conversions they had made by preaching *their* Opinions for it is well known that there were only three Literati that were tolerable Christians at Zang Hai [Shang-hai]. And of 2000 that had been baptiz'd in Jang Cheu [Hang-chou] only seven or eight frequented the Church, as Father Pacheco, a Jesuit Missioner, own'd in that City.[1]

[1] For Le Favre and Pacheco, see Pfister *sub. nom.*

8. (5) I gave in answer the words of Cornelius a Lapide where he handles this Point very learnedly, and even says more than I need. The curious Reader may see it there; and if we add to this what Cajetan writes concerning the equal Reward that the Divine Master of all the Religious Orders gave to him of the five Talents, and to him of the two, which is admirable to the purpose, then my Opinion will be still more strengthened.

9. And if I add that I am still preaching in China in my Books, I shall not be in the wrong.[1]

10. The Learned Christians in that Village put such questions to me, as amaz'd me. One concerning the light of Glory; another concerning the precise manner of seeing God; another about the distinction of Angels, whether it was Specifical, or Numerical. But what I most admir'd was, that I, being once reading in a Book of Father Adam Schall (that is written in the Chinese Character) whether there had been the virtue of Penance in Christ, and he answering in the Affirmative, according to Suarez, his Doctrine; Linus, a Batchelor above his Exercises, very well known to all the Fathers, came up and ask'd me, 'What is it you read, Father?'[2] For answer I handed him the Book it self, pointing to the place. He read it, and being disgusted at it, said, 'Father Adam might well have forbore writing this. If Christ did not, indeed could not sin, how should He have sorrow and repentance for sins?' Truly I was amaz'd to see, that at one reading he should understand the difficulty, and give that reason of his doubt.

11. After some Months I return'd to the City; I had a Catechist who was a good Scholar, with whose help I carry'd on the putting of my Books into good Language.[3] My Church was kept as

[1] As Verbiest wrote (247–8), books were essential to that mission since the Chinese were so studious; books would reach out to those beyond the missionaries' contact and, once the Faith was established, would hand it on to posterity; by means of a good book the missionaries could do more in a quarter of an hour than in many days' personal preaching; moreover, books were an opportunity to state plain facts in a way less likely to offend Chinese pride, which, contemplating the virtues inculcated by Christianity, might withdraw its peacock plumes.

[2] Linus, a native convert, who during one year taught him Chinese (*C* 389–90). 'Above his Exercises' means he had graduated.

[3] The missionaries, when writing in Chinese, were always careful to get help from native *literati* (Verbiest, xix; A. Vaeth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell, SJ, Missionar in China* . . . (Köln, 1933), 243).

clean, neat, and well adorn'd, as our Religious poverty would permit. The People that resorted to it were very numerous, and shew'd a good inclination towards the Law of God. I was sent for in all haste to the Towns and Villages. The extraordinary Poverty and Want we had endur'd for three years past, was such that sometimes we were unable even to go out of doors. If the Preaching and Teaching of the Faith was established in China as well as it is here at home in Europe, and in other Parts, nothing would stop our Progress; but the Devil makes his advantage of all this. This will not satisfy some but what I say is most certain.

〈In this city of Kin Hoa there happened to me that which happen'd to St Ambrose in Milan, related in his sermon No. 82, *De defectione lunae.* And it is fitting I should dilate upon this particular as being singular to Europeans. It is an inviolable custom in China, to send advice from the Court throughout the whole Empire of the Day and Hour when any Eclipse of the Sun or Moon is to happen. When the Mandarines have notice of it, two or three days before they past up their Orders in all publick places of Cities and Towns to this effect: 'Such a day, at such an hour, there is an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon, let all those whose Duty it is, come to perform and be present at the usual Ceremonies, in order to deliver the Planet from that trouble.' At the time appointed the Mandarines, other Persons of note, and a great many Bonzes meet: when the Eclipse commences, they begin to make Genuflections, and Prostrations, shout and hollow, beat upon Basons; the Bonzes pray and all of them cry out in a hideous manner, till the Eclipse is over; they call this delivering and rescuing the Sun or Moon from the Trouble it is then in.

This Ceremony is of great Antiquity in that Kingdom. Their Ritual, Tome IV, page 13 makes mention of it, and ordains that the Kings attend the Emperor to assist, or succour the Sun or Moon in that distress; and to this purpose orders them to come with Drums, and Souldiers adorn'd with those Liveries and colours, which answer to the four parts of the World. And tho it is a barbarous Ceremony, let no Man think it strange that the Chineses should perform it, since it has been practis'd by

Europeans, in the time of those great Doctors of the Church, St Ambrose and St Augustin, who both condemn this European and Asiatic Ceremony, which was more Criminal among Christians than among Gentiles.[1]

One day, then, in Kin Hoa, before day-break, so great was the Noise, and the Din of Voices and Instruments that I awoke, got up from my Bed solicitous and somewhat fearful lest it betoken'd the start of some Riot. I ask'd my Christian Chinese that I had in the House, what Noise that was. He answer'd the same answer as they gave to St Ambrose and I then laugh'd as the Saint himself had done when he heard it. I later continued taking more Notice of this, and of other ceremonies of that Nation.

The Europeans do not mislike the Chineses way of rejoycing. The beginning of the Year 1668, some Masks pass'd by our Door, and we all thought the curiousness and gaiety of their Clothes a noble Sight, well deserving our Praise and even Admiration.

At the time of their Full Moon, and three days before and three after, there is held the Festival of the Lanthorns, which seems to me and others the finest in China; and I am almost in the mind to say, there is not a more pleasant, a more sightly, and more universal Solemnity in the whole World.[2] If such a thing were done at Madrid, I don't doubt but People would flock from all Parts of the Kingdom to partake of the Divertisement. Their Lanthorns are nothing like ours in Europe, they are very large, and of a thousand several Shapes and curious Figures. Some are made of the Glass they have there, with delicate fine Workmanship about them. There are some of two, three and 400 Ducats apiece. Many are made of thin Silk, painted with variety of Colours and Figures of Men, Women, Birds, Flowers, and other things; besides Men a Horseback continually riding round within them. In others there are Cocks fighting, with all their Motions very natural; in others Fishermen and Gardiners; and in others Soldiers giving Battel; all so lively that it is surprizing. Many are

[1] Juvenal (*Satire* VI, ll. 442–3) refers to the custom of 'rescuing the Moon' from an eclipse.

[2] On the Feast of Lanterns, see also *C* 281; J. Bredon and I. Mitraphanow, *The Moon Year* (Shanghai, 1927), 133–8; Magalhães, 104–7.

made of Paper of several Colours, and curiously cut; some in the Shapes of Roses and other Flowers; some of Fishes continually gaping and beating their Fins and Tails; some with many Puppets: In short, there is a wonderful multiplicity and variety. In the Year 1663, I went abroad at eight at Night to see this Sight, and before I came to the Great Street, I stood astonish'd, or, as we call it, quite beside my self with admiration: When I got into the Great Street, my Senses and Facultys fail'd me. The Street was a League in length, which I walk'd always under Lanthorns, and scarce one of them but had something singular. I said to the Catechist who went along with me, 'Clement, we have gone by above 12,000 Lanthorns.'[1] He laugh'd heartily, and anser'd, 'Father, they are above 30,000.' With what we afterwards saw, they certainly exceeded 80.000. In the Temples of their Idols there were still greater Curiosities. The Chineses themselves, tho us'd to that sight, were surpriz'd, and many stood gaping like utter Strangers.

Those in the Metropolis of Hang Cheu [Hang-chou] are the most famous of all China. In the Year 1665, when I was in that City, I lay in the Prison, and therefore could not see them, but those the Prisoners set up before the Temple that is in the Goal, rais'd mine and my Companions admiration, both for the Multitude, as also for the curiosity and orderly placing of them. That Night I went out to see the Lanthorns, I curiously made some Observations. The first was of an infinite multitude of People, but not one Woman, for it would be look'd upon as a grievous Sin if one were seen. The second, that tho there was a great deal of jostling and hunching one another as they pass'd in the Croud, yet I saw no Offence taken, or ill Language given, they made sport and laugh'd at all. The third, that there being a great many Shops full of variety of Fruit and cold Banquets, no Man presum'd to snatch away so much as a Chesnut; so that the Sellers were as easy as if it had been noon Day. The Modesty with which

[1] There appear to have been two converts with this name: '... a Christian who was a great *literatus*, named Clement, or in his own Language, Chu Fi Chi ...' (*T* 42); '... a Christian named Clement, whom I put out of the House, for he did no more than eat and go walking abroad ...' (*C* 390).

those Infidels are bred, and the niceness of their Carriage at all times is very remarkable.[1]⟩

12. I began to print my Catechism, because it had pleas'd God to send us some small relief in the year 1664, when on a sudden and altogether unexpectedly news came from Court [Peking] that our Enemy had presented a Memorial against Father Adam Schall and the Law of God. The very Infidels were astonish'd. Many comforted me the best they could and the Christians did the same. Many thought it would all come to nothing, but when I observ'd they alledged Rebellion among Father Adam's charges, then I was convinced that affair would run high, so I stopp'd the printing of my Catechism.

13. The case was, that Father Adam being President of the College of Mathematicians, had the charge of, and every year set out, the Almanack by which the whole Empire is govern'd, as well in Political as Religious respects, assigning lucky and unlucky Days for every thing they are to do, (tho some excus'd the said Father as to this particular).[2] It happen'd that some years before a Prince had dy'd and that College was order'd to appoint a proper time and fortunate hour for his Funeral. All the Chineses are very superstitious in this respect. A day was appointed, but not lik'd; or, as others say, the President of the Court of Rites alter'd it, the Mathematical Court

[1] *T* 48–9, 483; R 28.

[2] 'They chose days and hours for everything except eating, drinking and sinning' (*C* 91). Cf. Fr Semedo's description: 'The Kings Mathematician . . . maketh an Almanack . . . which he divideth into daies which . . . he declareth fortunate or unfortune, to do or leave undone anything, as to take a voyage, to go out of doores, to make marriage, to bury the dead, to build, and other suchlike affaires; whence the Chinesses in all their businesse, do so observe these Rubriques, that meerly, not to go against these rules, they hasten, defer, or let alone whatsoever they have to do' (A. Semedo, *The History of the . . . Monarchy of China* (London, 1655), 93). Schall had been appointed Sub-director of the Court of Sacrificial Worship (T'ai-ch'ang-ssu Shao-ch'ing) in July 1646 (Lo-shu Fu, 'Collection of Chinese Documents', 4), and he became the first European Director of the Astronomy Bureau; no Jesuit ever became President of it (Needham, III, 444). His taking on these posts caused discord among his Jesuit colleagues, some of whom regarded the Calendar as superstitious (*C* 238) and were said even to be unwilling to confess him (ibid. 133). Rome decreed that he might retain the post but was to have nothing to do with the superstitions attached to the Calendar. For a Jesuit self-defence see Verbiest, 41–101, 237, 244–5.

being subordinate to his. Soon after the Prince's Mother, and next the Emperor himself dy'd. The Chineses imputed these two Persons death to the ill timing of the Prince's Burial. This was, in reality, the principal and only origin of the Persecutions; to which they added Blasphemies against God and his Holy Mother. ⟨It was said that the reason for the Persecution was Anger against, and Hatred of, Father Adam Schall; but I judg that it was *in odium Fidei*, as in Japan. [*C* 269]⟩

14. These news being spread abroad, the Christian Converts grew cold, and withdrew for they have not the courage of the Japoneses and others; and the Infidel Chineses kept away from the Church, and from us. One, who tho an Atheist was an honest Man, said to me: 'Father, forty days hence there will be a fresh Order; you have nothing to do but to expect it courageously.' One day three Mandarines came to pry into our House and Church; I shew'd I was sensible of the Business, we discours'd about it, and to say the truth they were concern'd lest we should be disturb'd. The concourse of curious visitors to us being grown less, I stay'd at home, spending my time in composing a little Book; and truly in it I disprov'd all the Extravagancies our Enemy alledg'd against the Law of God, except some which were altogether Chimerical. The second advice came, and brought news that the cause was depending; Father Adam was in Prison and the other three Fathers then at Court [Buglio, Magalhães, Verbiest] were at the point of going to keep him company there. After forty days more, the third advice came, with Orders to carry us all to Court. The Civil Magistrate of Lan Ki [Lan-ch'i] which is six Leagues down the River, where two Friers of my Order were [Domenico di Sarpetri and Felipe Leonardo], was then in the City; he sent to apprehend and put them into Goal immediately, which was done that very night with great noise and tumult, fifty Troopers besides Foot-Soldiers being at the taking of two poor Religious. They told me they would do the same by me but I thank God I was not concern'd for myself I was only troubled that the Holy Images and Mass-gear should be left there. I waited all night with a Christian young Man; a little before break of day, perceiving there was no noise of People, I went to

say Mass; that day pass'd over and no body spoke a word to me. The Infidel I spoke of earlier advis'd me to present my self to the Supreme Civil Magistrate and after he writ my Memorial for me, I went away with him to the Court. The magistrate receiv'd me favourably, and presently sent me away, bidding me be quiet in my House, and he would dispatch me when their New year was over, giving me to understand the Emperor intended to banish us his Empire. This quieted me, and I liv'd the following days more at ease. They brought the two Fathers that were down the River, to present them before the Governour; they gave me an account of their Imprisonment, and the next day they sent them back to their House. By the advice of my Infidel Friend before mention'd, I presented another Memorial to the Supreme Civil Magistrate of the City, in which I intimated that I had not Money to bear my Charges on the Road, and therefore would sell my Household Goods. He consented to it, and I sold some Wheat and Rice, gave some things to Friends and poor Christians, and other things I made nothing out of. The Church-stuff was what concern'd me most, it pleas'd God I sent it all to a Christian, who liv'd in that Village where I had been some time earlier.

15. After the Feast of the New-year, I was busy one Morning, ordering some small things to send to the Corregidor, or Supreme Civil Magistrate of the City, when on a sudden he came into my House, attended by Officers, Executioners and Scribes. I went out with my Present, and said to him, 'I was putting this trifle in order to send it to your Lordship.' He look'd on the thing and lik'd it, and order'd it to be kept. The whole value I believe amounted to two Pieces of Eight tho his Courtesy to me both before and after deserv'd much more. ⟨He was a Man of Honour, and gave good proof of it at this time. He was above 70 Years of Age, and as active as if he had been but 30. The Officer that carry'd me to the Metropolis, assur'd me (and I had heard it from others before) that he eat for his Breakfast every morning 30 Eggs, and a Dogs Leg, and drank two Quartillos of hot Wine. This may pass for a Trifle! The good old Fellow look'd so fat and fair, it did a Man good to see him. [*T* 64]⟩ Tho he had often seen the Church, he ask'd nothing about it. He acquainted me with the

Emperor's Order, ⟨and sent for the Head of the Quarter I liv'd in. He kneeling, was ask'd before my Face, How many European Preachers are there here? He answer'd, Only one. Is there no more? said the Judg again. No Sir, reply'd the Headborough. Then I deliver him into your custody, quoth the Judg, take care of him till I send him away to Court, whither the Emperor calls him. [*T* 64]⟩ Next the Officers ran in like so many ravenous Tigers to lay hold of what they could, but found only my Breviary, Book of Hours, St Augustin's Meditations, and other small matters, which I had thought to be safe, but they carry'd all away, and left me for some time free from the Duty of saying my Office.[1] The Headborough was a very honest Man, who took my word and left me at full liberty. At night he lock'd my door on the out-side, without minding a Back-door I had and would say to me, Father, I know you will not run away, I do this only that those who pass by may see I obey my Orders. Then they brought me before the Superior Judg. ⟨These Mandarines, every day, Morning and Evening, sit in Court in their own Houses, except those of the Imperial City, which are in a place apart. The Mandarine being seated, and his Officers placed, upon one Cry made, the three outward Gates are open'd; and before the People that have some Business come in, a Crier goes about the Inner Court with a written Tablet, and on reaching the right hand Gate, crys, (for example) Let those come in who have Petitions to prefer. When these are dismist, the Crier again makes Proclamation, saying, Let those that are sent up from Towns come in. It was then I went in with the Officer that had charge of me; and being on my Knees, it was propos'd I should be sent to the Metropolis. I begg'd to be allow'd a Vessel, because I was poor. He granted it very courteously. This was the greatest Mandarine in the City; I went out again and returned home. He sate in much State, a great Table before him cover'd with Silk hanging down to the ground; he had by him Pencils to write with, and black and red Ink.

[1] Books were a medium of Christian propaganda and for that reason the decree ordered that they be confiscated; on the other hand, it was also ordered that no harm be done to the Christians themselves, the missionaries, their churches or to statues of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary (F. de Rougemont, *Relaçam . . . do Imperio da China* (Lisboa, 1672), 148).

They sign and seal with red. There lay a great many little Sticks in a wooden varnish'd Case; these serve to denote the number of Lashes they give to Criminals. Every little Stick stands for five Lashes; if they design twenty, they throw down four of them, and six for thirty. The Executioners snatch them up, and lay the Wretch on his face upon the stones; drag down his Breeches to his heels, where two stand to hold him down, and two more at his head. The Executioner facing the Mandarine, discharges the Cane with all his strength upon the Thighs. The standers-by count the Strokes aloud, and at every five comes on a fresh Executioner till the number is compleat. There is a difference in the Strokes, and in the Canes; the greater the Mandarine, the thicker and heavier they are: to this purpose they put Lead into them, so that the Stroke is terrible. There lies no Appeal in case of Whipping, and very few escape it. When they have a mind to it, they kill a Man at four or five Strokes. The Mandarines can put no Man to Death, without sending up to Court about it. But it is common to lash Men to death. The Executioners can order it much as they please, for the great stress lies in striking in one place or another, in turning or bending the Cane, wherein they always do the Will and Pleasure of their Mandarine. They hold up some Mens Testicles, and fix them on a small Cane; on them they let fall the Stroke, and the second or third the Patient infallibly dies. If he who is to be whipp'd has Silver, he generally compounds with the Executioners, and then they let fall the Cane so that it may make a great noise yet do little hurt; and the better to carry on the cheat, the Person suffering roars out hideously.

Terrible as this Punishment is, there are some who hire themselves to receive the Lashes for others; so that in some places there are people who keep ten or twelve of these Men that hire themselves out. Those whose Cause is depending, and fear that they shall be lash'd, have recourse to the chief of that Guild; give an account of the Danger they are in, and ask for one to go along with them, giving security to pay four or five Ryals (two Shillings or half a Crown*) for every Lash. The Bargain made, he appoints one of his Men, who goes with the Criminal to the Court: The Executioners are spoke to, and when the Mandarine orders the Whip-

PLATE X. Punishment by the bastinado

ping (or rather the Bastinadoing*) the other takes the place, and receives the Strokes for Mony. This may be easily done without the Mandarine's perceiving it; first, because of the many Executioners there present; and in the next place, which is the best reason, because the Mandarine is at a great distance; and as soon as he has thrown down the Sticks, during the Execution, he talks of other Affairs, drinks Cha, and smokes Tobacco. When he has been lash'd, his Chief takes great Care of him, has him dress'd, and makes much of him. Those that have been bastinado'd are generally sent to Goal; there are those that dress them very well and they pay for it.[1] [*T* 67–8]⟩

I believe that I escap'd the best of any of the Missioners as to the manner of my imprisonment.[2] I imputed this to my sins, that God would not permit me to suffer anything for his Holy Name, when all the others did.

16. Before I proceed to the next Chapter, because I forgot it in the first Book, I will here briefly mention the most usual, common and cheap sort of Food all China abounds in, and which all Men in that Empire eat, from the Emperor to the meanest Chinese; the Emperor and great Men as a Dainty, the common sort as necessary sustenance. It is call'd Teu Fu, that is Paste of Kidney Beans.[3] I did not see how they made it. They drew the Milk out of the Kidney-Beans, and turning it, make great Cakes of it like Cheeses, as big as a large Sive, and five or six fingers thick. All the Mass is as white as the very Snow, to look to nothing can be finer. It is eaten raw, but generally boil'd and dress'd with Herbs, Fish, and other things. Alone it is insipid, but very good dress'd as I say and excellent fry'd in Butter. They have it also dry'd and smok'd, and mix'd with Caraway-seeds, which is best of all. It is incredible what vast quantities of it are consum'd in China, and very hard to conceive there should be such abundance of Kidney-

[1] On this form of punishment, see Nieuhoff, *Embassy*, 182; and Boxer, *South China*, 18–20, 178–9, 211, 298–9.

[2] This was quite true; cf. for instance the account of friar Santa María, 'Relación de la persecución', *SinFran* II, 502–606.

[3] Tou fu, or beancurd, is made of the soya beans which were familiar to servicemen in the East during the Second World War; few of them would 'leave Pullets for it' (see Couling, 46).

Beans. That Chinese who has Teu Fu, Herbs and Rice, needs no other Sustenance to work, and I think there is no body but has it, because they may have a Pound (which is above twenty Ounces) of it any where for a Half-penny. It is a great help in case of want, and is easy for carriage. It has one good Quality, which is, that it causes the different Airs and Seasons, which in that vast Region vary much, to make no alteration in the Body, and therefore they that travel from one Province to another make use of it. Teu Fu is one of the most remarkable things in China, there are many will leave Pullets for it. If I am not deceiv'd, the Chinese of Manila make it, but no European eats it, which is perhaps because they have not tasted it, no more than they do Fritters fry'd in Oil of Ajonjoli (a very small Seed they have in Spain and India, which we have not*) which the Chinese make in that City, and is an extraordinary Dainty, of which Europeans do deprive themselves.[1]

[1] Ajonjoli, oil extracted from sesame (*Sesamum indicum*), used as an olive-oil substitute, a hair-dressing, and for medicinal purposes.

CHAPTER XIV

MY JOURNEY TO THE IMPERIAL CITY, AND RESIDENCE THERE

1. As soon as a Boat was order'd, and Officers appointed to conduct me, these began to contrive to get Money of me. This sort of People is covetous all the World over; but there is a difference, for in China any Officer of the Civil Magistrate is satisfy'd with a little, and thankful for it; but in other parts a great deal goes but a little way, and they undervalue it. I will relate what happen'd to me there: They assign'd me an an Officer, who I fancy'd was too contentious, and I fear'd would be troublesome and impertinent upon the way. This matter depended on the Clerk, I sent him a Message, and a little Mony, desiring him to appoint another who was more courteous and civil. The Man deliver'd the Message, and only two Silver Ryals (a Shilling*). He consented, order'd another in his stead, and said, 'Your Master must have a sharp Eye if he knew that Man; I will appoint one who shall please him in all things, and serve him.' And so it prov'd; but would they do the like for a Chinese in our Country?

2. I forgot to relate how the City Kin Hoa had held out bravely against the Tartars, and it cost them their Trump-cards to take it. When taken, the Tartar General having promis'd to spare all Men, call'd together all the Citizens; and when they were all in a place, gave the Signal to his Men to fall on and they butcher'd 40,000. He was a cruel Man, named Ma Tie To who some years after was put to death at Court. That City was much impair'd, but, nevertheless, in my time it was paying 50000 Ducats a year in Taxes. The Town down the River where my two Companions resided, surrendred without drawing Sword, and so escap'd untouch'd. Its Trade is great, the Duties there amount to 70000 Ducats a Year. The best Liquor of all China is there made of

Rice, and is so good that we do not miss the Wine of Europe.[1] Their Gammons of Bacon are the best in the Empire, nothing inferior to the choisest in Estremadura or Gallicia. The price is certain, a pound containing twenty Ounces cost two Quartos (a Penny*) or two Roman bayoques, and so a pound of the best Wine; if ever it rises it is but a small matter.[2]

3. I took Boat for the Metropolis [Lan-ch'i], not imagining what I was to meet with there. Next morning I saw my two Companions [friars Leonardo and Sarpetri], the supreme Civil Magistrate of the Town being still at variance with them. I had indur'd much cold that night in the Boat. I went thence alone, and that day I saw the pleasant fishing with Sea-Crows.[3] ⟨It is the prettiest Pastime in the World, I think, to see the manner of fishing with them. I will write what I saw my self, and observ'd at leasure. Ten or twelfe little Boats, at the first dawning of the Sun, appear'd on a spreading and soft flowing part of a mighty River, just as I was sailing that way. I stopt to see the sport. Every Boat had four or five Crows at the Head, and they were stretching out their Wings, and picking themselves. Being come to the place they design'd, the Boats drew up in a large Ring, and they began with their Oars to make a regular noise; then first one, then another, and sometimes two together of the Crows leap'd off from each Boat and div'd to the bottom of the Water, catch'd a Fish, and every one return'd to his own Boat without ever mistaking; being led by the sound of their Masters Oars. Thus they plung'd into the Water, and return'd to the Boats, which was a great diversion to all that attentively observ'd them. Those that caught large Fishes, brought them in their beaks, and the Fishermen took them in their hands; they that took small Fishes, swallow'd them, and when they were come out of the Water into the

[1] Other travellers, from friar Odoric down, have praised Chinese wine highly (see Couling, 603; also *T* 34 for another reference).

[2] The *baiócco* is defined by J. Florio (*Vocabolario Italiano e Inglese* (London, 1688) as a coin worth about a tenth of a sixpence.

[3] Cormorant fishing was common in China. Friar Odoric found it there in the fourteenth century; it was also practised in England where the 'Master of the Cormorants' was a member of the royal household. References in Boxer, *South China*, 43.

PLATE XI. Chinese using trained cormorants in fishing

PLATE XII. Chinese snaring ducks

Boat, the Men laid hold of them; and holding down their Beak, gave them a gentle stroke on the Neck, whereupon they immediately cast up all the Fishes they had in their Craw. Thus they went on till they fill'd their Baskets with Fish, which was not long a doing, and then they went away up the River to their Homes, carrying the Crows on the Prow, as they had done before. What I admir'd was, that when a Crow had plung'd into the Water, and came up at a great distance from his own Boat, and near another, he immediately went away to his own without regarding the rest.

When they come home, they pick out the smallest Fish, and give them to eat; thus their Masters feed them, and maintain their Families with the large and middle Fish. There is a great deal of difference between seeing and relating of this. I must say again, it is one of the prettiest Diversions in the World. [*T* 43]⟩

Three Nights I lay in my little Boat, and every morning the Hoar Frost lay upon us, for it was in February and very frosty weather. My two Companions overtook me, and we came together to the Metropolis [Hang-chou] on the 27th of February, being the 15th day of their New Moon.

⟨We went through the principal Street of this City, which is near four Leagues of ours in length from East to West; some say it is longer, and allow two leagues from the Suburbs on both sides; so that from the coming into one Suburb till the end of the other they make it a day's Journey for a Sedan; The Street is straight, wide, and all paved with Freestone, which is very beautiful: At every fifty paces distant or thereabouts is a Stone Arch as curiously wrought as those I have seen at Rome. On both sides were an infinite number of Merchants and Shopkeepers dealing in all things that can be thought of. The throng of the People was so great, that the Chairmen were continually crying out to them to make way. About the middle of this Street they told us the News, that the Father of the Society residing there [Augeri] had been made a Prisoner. The next day we three were convey'd to another Jail, but since our Affair was being transacted at Court, we suffered no other trouble save the spending of that little we had been saving all the year, and the want of Liberty; and because all

our suffering was on a good account, that is, the preaching of the Gospel, it was not afflicting to us but was rather a great Comfort. As for the good Government, Quietness and Ease and Cleanliness of the Jail, I do not question but it exceeds ours in Europe. As soon as we were brought into the First Court we spy'd the Head Jailor, who sat in great State on his Tribunal-seat; he presently ask'd for the 'mittimus' of the Criminal Judg that had sent us to him. But him we had not yet seen, (for he was still not come to himself after a great Feast he had been at the day before) so one of his Deputies sent us to Prison. Then the Goaler began to examine us concerning our coming to China, upon what intent it was, what we liv'd upon, &c. We answer'd him with a great deal of freedom and ease, the Consequence whereof was that they put us in through another little Door which was lock'd, and had a Porter at it; we went on through a Lane, and they brought us to an Idol Temple. I don't know that in the Prisons in these our Countries there is any Church of God so great, so spacious, so clean, so neat, and so much frequented by the Prisoners as that is. In all the Goals, Dungeons and Courts of Justice throughout the Empire, they have Temples richly adorn'd, and cleanly, where the Prisoners, and such as have law-suits make their Vows, offer Candles, Oil, Silver, Perfumes and other things: Some beg to be deliver'd out of Jail, others good success in their Suits; but, those Wooden and Earthen Images neither hearing nor seeing, they give no Relief to their Suppliants. At Night they turn'd us through another Lesser Door into a Court, and then convey'd us into a great Hall, quite dark and dismal, without any Window and so full of People, that there was hardly room for them to stand; this was call'd the little Prison to distinguish it from the Dungeon which was far enough from thence. Here we continued 40 days, having always Light at night and there was an Over seer who took care no Noise should be made. All Men were wonderful submissive to him, so that there was no roaring, or noise, or quarrelling, but all as hush'd as if it had been the Novice-house of a well govern'd Monastery, which we did not a little admire. In the day time we went to the Idol Temple, and to a great Court that was before it, there we sun'd ourselves, which was no small

Comfort. Sometimes we discours'd upon the Subject of our holy Religion, and answer'd the Questions that were put to us, and then proceeded to convince them of the Error of their Idolatry and Superstition; but they were so grounded in their Follies, that tho they own'd they lik'd our Doctrine, yet they would presently go offer up their Prayers to their Idols. There were Rooms enough in two Lanes to be let to People of some Note, who were in for small faults; there they lived quietly and with Conveniency till their Business is over. There are also some Houses in which marry'd People live, who keep the Watch in the Night; they walk about those Lanes and Courts continually beating Drums and blowing little Horns, so that it is impossible any Man should make his escape, tho the place it self were not so secure.

The Women's Prison is apart, and has a strong Door in which there was a little Gate, through which they gave them Necessaries. We took particular Notice and observ'd that no Man ever went to hold Discourse there. The modesty of the Chineses in this particular is not to be parallel'd in all the World, and no less the reservedness and precaution of the Women. All things necessary for Clothing Shoos and Diet were carried thither to be sold: The Barber goes in to trim, the Cobler to mend Shoes, the Taylor to alter Clothes, the Coleman, the Woodmonger, the Butcher, the Seller of Rice and Herbs, and all other Sorts of Trades; so that there was every day a formal Market kept there. There are also Cooks who for a small allowance dress the Meat very cleanly. There is a good Well, which all make use of to dress their Victuals, drink, and wash their Linnen. Thus the whole resembles a well govern'd Body Politick. Every Afternoon the head Goaler with his Clerk view'd the Prisoners, calling them over by their Names, and finding them all there, lock'd them up till next day.

To those that were poor they gave every day a portion of Rice, half of it they eat, and with the other half bought Wood, Salt, Herbs &c. This we much approv'd of, because without it many would be expos'd to miserable want, there being no way to beg by reason they are not even with the Ground, and quite out of the way for People to come at them. All the while we were there,

more came in than went out: Some had their Thighs all gaul'd with Lashes, others their Ancles disjointed by the Wrack, which is commonly us'd and with great Severity in that Country. One day we went into the Dungeon, which is dismal enough, without it was a large Court, and in the middle a Temple like that of the little Prison: All those that were there had Fetters on, and their Colour was unwholesom, because the place is very damp. In the day time they show'd them some favour, suffering them to come out into the Sun, where they air'd and lous'd themselves. They once brought a parcel of them from thence into our Prison, so that we had not room left to sit down: For eight Nights I lay under a Cane Bed, in which were my two Comrades: I dreaded lest the Canes should breake, and I be beaten flat as a Pancake. I slept well and comfortably, tho some Boards were my only Mattress. These hardships oblig'd us to hire a room where we spent the rest of our time with more ease.

What we admired most was to see how devoutly and incessantly those Wretches begg'd of their Idols to deliver them from their Sufferings. Every day they lighted Candles, burnt Perfumes, made a thousand Genuflexions, knockt their Heads upon the Ground, and wept before them; others gave them selves to mental prayer, others sang, and particularly one who had been there four years, this Man took upon him to be sacristan, he swept the Temple, cleans'd the Altars, look'd after the Lamp, beg'd of the others for Oil and Candles, and earnestly exhorted them to ask the assistance of those Devilish Idols and mov'd them so to do by his Example, for he was almost continually at Prayers. He utterly debauch'd one we had just gain'd to embrace our holy Doctrine, perswading him, if he persisted to implore their Gods they would deliver him out of Goal; the Wretch it seems was not of the Elect. We also observ'd with how much Courtesy, Civility, and Respect those People treated one another, and the same they us'd towards us. This is a thing incredible in our Countries. If two Chineses, Japoneses, or Tunquines were brought into our Prisons, how would the other Goalbirds use them? What Tricks would they play upon them? How would they force them to pay Garnish? Nothing of this sort is practis'd there, but they treated us

with as much Respect, as if we had been some Persons of Note among them. In this and in many other particular, that Nation beyond all dispute surpasses the rest of the Universe. Another thing we made our Remark of, which is much practis'd by all that Nation, and was, that when any Prisoner dy'd, having perform'd their Ceremonies there upon the place, they put him into a Coffin, but would not carry him out at the Door by any means: They have a Superstition in this particular, and therefore on the inward side towards the Dungeon they had a Gap fit for the purpose made through the Wall into a small Orchard through which they thrust him out.

I must observe that having gone through a great part of Hang Cheu with my two Companions, and tho the throng of People was so great that we could scarce make our way through the Streets, yet we saw not one Woman, tho we look'd about very carefully, so as to be satisfy'd of the great Retirement of those Women. Would to God the hundredth part of it were observ'd among us. And sober Christians and Scholars of Repute told me, there were about six Million and a half of People in this City (and the Millions of China are not those of France but are the same in amount as those of Spain). The House and Church of the Fathers of the Society in that City was great and magnificent, and for that reason, as some of the Fathers at times told me, was a help to forward the Persecution. We saw it all that Afternoon we came thither, we offer'd our Prayers in the Church and took particular Notice of it.[1] It had three Isles, with each three pillars, besides two that join'd to the Wall of the Frontispiece. Yet Father Matias de Amaya [Maia] in his Annua writ it had 300.[2] A pretty Difference!

[1] For this church, the most beautiful in the China mission, started by Father Martini, see Pfister, 259, 286.

[2] But elsewhere he exonerates Maia from blame for this, remarking that he had to rely on information supplied him; Navarrete knew Maia, who was regarded as a saint, and describes his death: 'it was like his Life had been. He might easily have saved himself when he was lost [15 January 1667] in the shipwreck of Gerónimo de Abrio's ship; but he thought not of himself, and remained on board assisting the many Persons who could not leave the Vessel; he confessed them, consoled them, encouraged them in that last Agony in which he perished together with them, to the great edification of all that came to hear Newes of it' (R 6). See also Sommervogel, v, 771–2.

(This should have been inserted above, but it makes not much to the matter.)

This City is so well stor'd, (and there is none but what is so) that 70000 Soldiers coming to it in my time, they all liv'd upon what was then actually in the Shops, and sold about the Streets, without raising the Price of any thing, or causing the least scarcity in the City, no more than if only twenty Men had come to it. There is another particular thing (tho these are all common in China, only varying according to the greatness of the Place) which is, that 6000 Country Men come in every day with their cover'd Tubs to carry out the humane Dung. A noteable Forecast!

At length the Day of our Departure came. The cause of detaining us so long was, because they expected all the Missioners that were in that Province to carry us together to Court. The Officers carry'd us before the Judg of one of the two Corporations, before whom our business lay. The Father of the Society had been fetch'd out of Prison two days before, they had taken from him his House and Church, and he was upon Bail in a little Loft he had over the Gate. To make the way shorter they carry'd us on the outside of the Walls. As soon as we were without them, we discover'd the finest Lake in the World; two sides of it were hemm'd in by most delightful and verdant Hills and Mountains, on the sides whereof were many Temples, Palaces, and Country Houses wonderful pleasant to behold. The Vessels on the Lake were many, of sundry forms, and all graceful. The Lake as near as we could guess was about six Leagues in compass, and reach'd within ten paces of the Wall on the South side: It was in a Plain full of vast Fields of Rice. We came tir'd to the Judges Court, having walk'd almost two Leagues, and waited for him two hours: During that Time a Multitude of Men came about us, with whom we discours'd concerning our Holy Faith. The Mandarine did not come, and a Clerk who was employ'd in our business bid us go to Dinner for he would answer for us: We travel'd almost two Leagues more, all this while without breaking our fast. At length we came to the good Jesuit, who was much indispos'd, yet we all rejoyc'd and eat together, and without resting I was carried in a Sedan to hear

the Confessions of no small number of Christians, Men and Women, who waited for me in a House.

Some Persons too had confess'd in Prison, repairing thither with much fervor to that effect; among them was a Taylor whose Name was Julian, a most exact Christian tho too subject to Scruples, and therefore very often repeated his Confessions. Some of the Prisoners ask'd this Man one day, whether he was a follower of our holy Doctrine. He answer'd in manly fashion that he was. Then said they, 'How can you being a Taylor keep so holy a Law?' He answer'd, 'Gentlemen, when I cut out Clothes, I do not keep the value of a Thred; and for the Fashion I demand no more than is reasonable, and what will keep me. This is what the Law of God enjoyns, so that neither this nor any other Trade need hinder the fulfilling of it.' They were astonish'd at his Courage and Resolution, and we, being by, were much edified. This poor Man suffer'd much from ill Christians, and some Apostates: they would go to his House and threaten, that if he did not give them some Silver they would impeach him, and for quietness sake he satisfied them all. Next day, [21 April] they carried us to the River, and tho a Boat was allow'd us (and we went in Comfort and Ease), yet they made us pay to get a good one.[1] True it is, that Father of the Society who had suffered much there, being sick, manag'd this Bargain, we consenting to it something against our Will, for indeed we cared not how they carry'd us, being resolv'd to endure all that came. It was a little Boat yet big enough for us four, three Servants and Six Officers. The Souldiers travel'd a Horseback by Land, always in sight of the Boat, and were reliev'd every two or three days. They were satisfy'd we would not attempt an escape, so that they took no great care of us all the time we were upon the Water; and tho we travel'd with them 200 Leagues by Land, we had never cause to complain of the least Incivility or Affront offer'd us; and yet we never gave them a Farthing, which indeed is very remarkable among

[1] The 'River' is the Grand Canal, running from Hang-chou to T'ien-ching; begun in the sixth century B.C., it was not finished until the thirteenth century A.D. (L. Richard, *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies* (Shanghai, 1908), 428).

Infidels. In their behaviour they were like very good Christians; they offer'd not the least Incivility, but rather sometimes help'd us when we stood in need of it.

Being come to the famous City Zu Cheu [Su-chou] we rested there five days. Under its walls is a great River along which we sail'd; an Arm of it runs through the heart of the City from one Gate to the other. This place is not inferior to Hang Cheu, for Greatness, Trade, and Commerce, but is not so Populous. We cross'd through the middle of it, and lighted on the Church that the Society had there, where five Fathers were confin'd by the Vice-Roy's Order, and that they might be sent to Court with the rest:[1] We made a halt there of five days, being well entertain'd and caress'd by those pious Men, and indeed we stood in need of it. The Reader, too, may rest him before he goes on, observing merely that this City pays two Millions a Year Taxes, by which it is easy to guess at its Riches and Trade. [*T* 15–19]⟩

4. We sail'd as far as the Red River, the sight whereof frightened us, and no less the violence of its Whirlpools.[2] When we left it, we met two more Fathers of the Society of Jesus; ⟨these were Fathers Gouvea and Costa who, either to be free of the Vexations of the Guards or else to avoid the expense of having to pay them their keep, or else for some other Reason of their own, had left their churches without the Permission of their local Mandarine and had set off for Peking themselves. Having reach'd Hang cheu, they got word of our imprisonment and that of Father Augeri, and without leaving their boat, they wrote us a Letter and then set off forthwith, lest, being judg'd fugitives they might be arrested. Afterwards we met them when we were travelling by Land, and they were consol'd because they were safer travelling under our Shadow. (But when we reach'd the Jesuit church in Peking and the Fathers resident there heard how these two had done, it seem'd bad to them. We all went together to the Tribunal and were well receiv'd and handed over to Fathers Magalhães and Bullo who reproach'd them both with hard words and cry'd down greatly their departure without Licence of their local

[1] The five Jesuits were Le Favre, Brancati, Couplet, Rougement, Gabiani.

[2] The 'yellow, or red, River' (*T* 31) is the Hoang-ho (Richard, 24–8).

Mandarine. Thus it was necessary to return three more times to the Tribunal to settle the matter; and from Peking a Reprimand was sent to the Mandarines of Fo Kien for not having taken more care of the two Europeans.)

We were now six travelling to Peking: three Jesuits and three Dominican friars. [*C* 611, 641]⟩ It is impossible to number the Vessels we saw, both great and small; sometimes we had a great deal of trouble to get through them, especially at a Custom-house; it is incredible what a multitude there was in that place, they cover'd all the Water for a large space. Two Tartars were there, who, as our Officers told us, got 500 Ducats a day each, in Presents Passengers made them. We argued against it, believing it was too much; but they gave convincing Reasons for what they said. We travel'd 200 Leagues along a flat Country with Carts, because the Water was low in the cut River [Grand Canal]. The weather was hot enough, but every half League there was cool Water, and delicate Apricocks, and eight or ten Eggs for a Half-penny. After this I read in a Letter writ by Friar Dominick Coronado, that at Zi Ning [Chi-ning] where he founded a Church, he bought three bushels of Wheat for half a Piece of Eight, and a Pheasant for a Half-penny. Nothing can be beyond this, and we thought a great fat Pullet cheap at Three-half-pence: I don't doubt but had we stood hard, they would have given it for Five-farthings. At a City before we came off the River, a Christian Mandarine made us a Present of a Sheep, Rice, and some small things. His Father was an Infidel, who came to see us in the Boat, he was old, and had almost lost his Nose; he would not be a Christian, because he had not a mind to part with his Concubines.[1]

[1] Polygamy was widely recognized as a major obstacle to the spread of Christianity in China (Gemelli-Careri, 336; Rougemont, 124; H. Chappoulie, *Rome et les missions d'Indochine au xvii^e siècle* (Paris, 1943), I, 376); Navarrete declared that the Jesuits sometimes permitted their converts to keep concubines, naming Fathers Le Favre and Sambiasi as two who did so (*T* 487; *C* 104, 202, 245–6), and who were petitioning Rome to allow this in China (*T* 74); it was the sort of story that found credence (Hamilton, II, 146). On the missions and the problem of polygamy see J. Bettray, *Die Akkommodationsmethode des P. Matteo Ricci, SJ, in China* (Rome, 1955), 139–46.

〈I pass'd by a Village and saw the tower called Tiao Tai, the Angler's Tower. The Officers who had me in Custody told me the Story and afterwards I read it my self. When Kuang Vu had taken Possession of the Empire, he bethought himself of a Schoolfellow of his, whose Name was Hien Kuang, and caus'd diligent search to be made after him in order to give him some considerable Employment and high Office.[1] They found him not, but discover'd a Man clad in Lambskins angling by a River side: The Emperor fancied it might be he, sent a Coach with much Attendance and Equipage to bring him to Court; and tho the Man did all he could to avoid it, there was no disobeying the Emperor's Order. He came to the Suburbs of the Imperial City, expecting till next day to make his Entry. The Emperor hearing of it, rose betimes and went to meet him at his Lodging. Hien Kuang was then asleep in his Bed: The Emperor came in smiling, and said, Rise Friend, for it is not fit that he who is to receive such Favours at my hands should sleep so much. He rose very leisurely and calmly rubbing his eyes spoke thus, 'The holy Emperor Jao[2] could not perswade his Philosopher Chao Fu to succeed him in the Throne; to what purpose is it to put a Man so reserv'd that he looks after nothing but Virtue, into Offices and Command?'

Notwithstanding his Excuse, he was offer'd the greatest Employments about the Court, but he rejected them all, and begg'd leave to return to his Village where he spent the rest of his Life angling with his Rod. This Heathen left us a great Example of the Contempt of Worldly Honours, which others so hotly pursue. His Memory is preserv'd till this day, for the People of his Village erected the Tower in Honour of him in that place. There are Examples peculiar for all purposes in China.

We also pass'd within four Leagues of the Tomb of Kung Fu Zu, whom in our Parts we vulgarly call Confucius; he is the greatest Oracle in China, and more celebrated and applauded there, than St Paul is in the Church. When he was 71 years of Age, having by that time made out and explain'd the Chinese

[1] For Yen Kuang, see Giles 937. Kuang Wu, an Emperor of the Han dynasty, ascended the throne in A.D. 25.

[2] Yao, one of the legendary Emperors (Richard, 444–5).

Doctrine, he retir'd home to his House, where he liv'd in the exercise of Prayer, Fasting and Alms-giving. As he was kneeling once, with his Face lifted up to Heaven towards the North, he saw a Rainbow descend from above, which put a Writing into his hands, carv'd on a Substance, which look'd like the purest Gold, and very transparent, but it is not known what was written. He receiv'd it, and dy'd at the Age of 73. He is bury'd in a stately Sepulcher in the same Town where he was born.[1] One of us, Friar Anthony of St. Mary, a Franciscan, had been there before and seen it. He said that there among other Trees he saw one without any Bark or Branches, wall'd in with Brick and Lime half way: There is a Tradition that Confucius when he was a Youth us'd to study in the shade of that Tree. I have heard Learned Christians say that no Beast, Bird or Insect ever came within the inclosure of this Tomb, which takes up a large space of ground, nor was there ever found any Excrement, or other filthy thing within that place. I discours'd concerning this Subject with some Missioners, who do not agree to it; nor had Friar Anthony notic'd this particularity; but by this it appears that the Scholars, tho they become Christians, still have their Master in their very Bones which is not at all to be doubted.

The Histories of China tell us, that the Emperor Cin XI Hoang (he reigned 300 Years after the Death of this Philosopher) who was a mortal Enemy to the Sect of the Learned, caus'd many Scholars to be burnt alive; and the same did by all the Books of Confucius, and other Masters which treated of Moral Virtues. He also attempted to destroy the Sepulcher we speak of, caus'd the one half of it to be ruin'd, and they say there was a Stone found with these words on it: 'The Emperor endeavours to destroy my Sepulcher, and annihilate my Ashes, but he shall not compass it, for he shall very soon end his Life.' So they affirm it fell out. This Emperor was to the Sect of the Learned, as Diocletian was to the Church.[2]

[1] The temple-tomb at Ch'ü-fu in Shantung; it is about a mile from the modern city; this 'stately Sepulcher' was at that time in a delapidated state of repair. Navarrete is wrong in thinking it was also Confucius' birthplace: he moved there with his mother after the death of his father (Shryock, 194; Hummel, II, 922–3).

[2] For a modern view of Shih Huang-ti, see Needham, I, 101.

The Lineage of Confucius, by one only Son he left, has been propagated and continued to this very day in the direct Male Line, without any failure in so many Ages: And tho there have been Wars, Rebellions, and Tumults, which utterly overthrew vast numbers of Citys, Towns, and other Places, yet Confucius his Town, his House and Family have ever continued. He that lived in the Year 1668, was the 303d Grandson. They ever enjoy'd the Privilege of Nobility and Revenues, they have been ever honour'd and respected by all Men, they are Lords of their Country. When we came away banish'd from the Court, we were told that the Tartar [the K'ang-hsi Emperor] had either taken away, or retrench'd the Revenue of him that was then living. He is no great lover of Learning, or Learned Men. I know not whether there be many Families in the World antienter than this.

The Chineses make the same account of this Philosopher's Doctrine, as we do of the Gospel. Some attribute to him infus'd Knowledg, but he himself confesses he had none but what is acquir'd. Some Missioners there are who make a Prophet of this Man, and this is printed in Latin; but others more antient of the same Society, laugh at and condemn this Notion. So even as in our Parts there are among us Thomists, Scotists, &c., so in China among the Missioners of one and the same Order there are Confucians and Anticonfucians.[1] I don't doubt that one can say to some of these Missioners of the Gospel that which Christ said to St Jerome: 'You are a Confucianist, not a Christian.'[2] The Elogies, Encomiums and Praises, with which the Chineses extol and magnify their Master, are beyond expression. That same which Christ said of the Baptist, 'Among the children of Women there has not been a greater than John,' &c., the Chineses say of their Philosopher, which is as much as can be said. I shall treat at large of the Worship and Veneration they pay him in the second Tome, where it shall also be prov'd that he was an absolute Atheist.[3]

[1] For different opinions among the Jesuits about Confucius and his possibility of salvation, see *C* 116, 351, 431, 448–51.

[2] St Jerome felt scruples about his love of the pagan writers, especially after a dream in which he saw Christ reproaching him with the words, 'You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian' (*Epistola* XXII, Migne, *P.L.*, XXII, 416).

[3] *C* 295–355.

Believing what they do of him, I know no reason why the Chineses should not look upon their Master Confucius as a Saint, and the greatest of Saints; it were madness rather, when they confess the first part, to deny the second. And it cannot be deny'd that he writ very good things, as will appear by the account shall be given of him.[1]

We came to pass the heat of one Afternoon as we were carry'd Prisoners to the Imperial Court, at the place of the Birth of the second Chinese Philosopher of whom I am to speak; he was born 300 Years after Confucius. This was at a Village in the Province of Xan Tung, not far from Confucius his native Town. We went into his Temple after crossing a large Court, shaded with very beautiful, very lofty, and very antient Cypress-Trees. The Chineses have much of them, they are set regularly, and kept in good order. Within the Temple was the Statue of this Master, on an Altar, after the same manner as other Idols are. Over him was a large Inscription in stately Gold Letters, to this effect; 'This is Meng Zu, the second Man of this Empire in Sanctity.' His Posterity continues to this day, are Lords of that Place, and have the Title of Mandarines. He writ much Moral Philosophy. All agree he was a Man of great Parts, but somewhat sharp and Cynick. His Books are of great Authority in that Nation, insomuch that the Scholars, or Learned Men, are often examin'd by them. As concerning this Philosopher's Religion, I suppose he was of the Sect of the Learned, and as much an Atheist as the rest of them; for in his Books there is not the least appearance of his having any Knowledg of God, the Immortality of the Soul, or Reward or Punishment in a future Life. Whence it follows that the Philosopher Confucius was no less ignorant as to these Points, because Meng Zu, having study'd and learnt his Doctrine, it is certain if he had found any thing in it concerning God, an Immortal Soul, &c. he must have mention'd it in his Writings.

In the Province of Nan King, in our way to the Imperial City, we saw an odd Invention for the drawing of Water, which we could not but admire and laugh at not a little. These sort of Mills

[1] The third treatise of the *Tratados*, not included here, gives an account of the life and sayings of Confucius.

stood in a Plain upon the flat Ground, and were full of Sails made of Mat, as is usual in that Country; and the Wind twirling them about, they flew like Lightning and drew abundance of Water without being attended by any body. Here we concluded that those who say there are Carts in China carry'd by the Wind, as does Friar de Angelis [Manoel dos Anjos], doubtless meant these Mills, especially considering they call a Cart and one of these Mills by the same Name in China; and it is only distinguishable by the Genitive Case being joyn'd to it, saying 'A Cart of Water, of Mills, of Oxen,' &c.[1] Unless it be accounted for thus, there is nothing to be said for this story, tho Mendoza vouches it.[2] Father Francis Colin, in his History of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, says, They travel over the Desarts and Sands of Lybia and Tartary in Carts, with Rigging like Ships. In great Plains such a thing perhaps might be practicable, where the Ground is hard and dry, but it seems difficult in Sands where the Wheels must sink every moment: Nor can I conceive how those Carts are to be guided, for no Rudder will alter its motion in the Sand. But since I never was in Lybia or Tartary, I will leave the matter to be try'd by its own probability; but there is no fixing any such thing upon China.[3]〉

5. It was wonderful to see what swarms of People we met with on the Road, some upon Mules, others upon Asses, others in Litters, and others in Sedans. We were known to all Men by our Beards; some comforted us saying our Cause was accommodated, others said it was in a bad posture; which was what we imagin'd. Others told us, one of Ours was dead and by the name they gave him, I suppos'd him to be the venerable Frier Dominick Coronado; and I was apt to believe it, because he was sickly. On the Eve of Sts Peter and Paul [29 June] in the morning, a Saturday,

[1] Friar Manoel dos Anjos (1595–1653), a Portuguese Franciscan of whom Navarrete is almost always critical, published his *Historia Universal* in Coimbra, 1651 (D. Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca Lusitana* (Lisboa, 1933), III, 177).

[2] Nevertheless, sailing chariots did exist and found their way into Milton's *Paradise Lost* (III, 431–42) and into the works of Grotius (J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'Simon Stevin's "Sailing-chariot",' *T'oung Pao*, XXXVI (1942), 401–7; and F. L. Huntley, 'Milton, Mendoza and the Chinese Land-ship', *Modern Language Notes*, LXIX (1954), 404–7). See also Concepción, VI, 331.

[3] *T* 33, 122, 129–32, 185–6, 430; *C* 97.

PLATE XIII. View of Peking in the seventeenth century

PLATE XIV. Father Ferdinand Verbiest, SJ, in the robes of a Chinese official, with his sextant and celestial globe

we came into the Imperial City of Pe King. We came in time enough to the Church of the Fathers of the Society to dine, and found the death of our Companion was certain, but precious in the sight of our Lord. Six Fathers of the Society gave it me under their hands, that he had dy'd a Martyr to the best of their knowledg. But as is known, it pertains to his Holiness the Pope to decide these Matters.

〈During the time we continued at Court, which was three Months (tho some staid not so long, and others longer) we went abroad but seldom, being order'd so to do by the Judges, yet they did not absolutely forbid it. Those few times I went abroad (we went all together to the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, and it was half a League from the Church) I observ'd some things which the others took notice of too in that Northern Court about which many ridiculous Falsehoods are written by Roman, Nieremberg, Mendoza, de Angelis, and others.[1] We saw a strange Confusion and wonderful multitudes of People. From the first Gate we walk'd above Two leagues to come to the Eastern Church of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.[2] It is called the Eastern to distinguish it from that which Father John Adam had in the West. This Metropolis has three Walls: The first which encompasses the other two, as the Fathers who liv'd there told us, and we our selves perceiv'd, is five Leagues in Circumference, a little more or less, and not as Pinto,[3] and the Authors above-mentioned write of it. Mendoza says, It is a whole day's Journey upon a good Horse and a Man must ride hard to cross from one Gate to another, without including the Suburbs which are as large again;

[1] The best study of the Augustinian Jerónimo Román is the unpublished M.A. thesis (London University, 1957) by Fidelis Villarroel, OP; see also Boxer, *South China*, lxvi, lxxxi–lxxxiii. For the Jesuit Nieremberg, see Sommervogel, v, col. 1725; and for González de Mendoza, OESA, see Streit, iv, 533. 'De Angelis' is the Portuguese Franciscan, Manoel dos Anjos. The best contemporary account of Peking is in Magalhães, 265–340. For anecdotes about the city until Magalhães settled the matter finally; see Boxer, *op. cit.* 89–90.

[2] The Jesuits had two churches in Peking; the Eastern church was the newer one and was in the charge of Magalhães and Buglio; this was the church to which the commonalty resorted: the other church, managed by Fr Adam Schall, was used by the Mandarins and courtiers (letter of Gouveia, 1653, ARSI, JapSin 162, f. 2).

[3] For Fernão Mendez Pinto, see M. Collis, *The Grand Peregrination* (London, 1949).

and yet he declares he speaks of the least. The Chineses impos'd upon him: I am satisfy'd none of those that go over to Manila have been at Pe King. In short, what I write is the very Truth; and tho I may as well as others err in some small matter, as for example, in half a League, yet I cannot deviate so grossly. Nor could the Fathers of the Society be mistaken, who liv'd above 20 Years in that City.

The Second Wall runs directly athwart from East to West; it is higher than the other, and so broad that two Coaches may go abrest on it with ease. Within these two Walls, towards the South, the Chineses live at present, there are the Shops, Tradesmen, and Mechanicks: a Man may there find all he can wish or desire, at the same Rates as in any other Part of the Empire. On the North Side live the Tartars, the Soldiery and Counsellors, and there also are all the Courts of Justice. The third Wall is in the shape of a Half-Moon, and incloses the Imperial Palace, the Temples of their Ancestors, Gardens, Groves, Fish-ponds, and other places for Pleasure. This also is on the North side, and is almost a League in Circumference. The Chineses reckon nine Walls from the first Gate to the Emperor's Apartment, and so tell it as a piece of Ostentation, that their Emperor lies within nine Walls. They stood him [the Ming] in little stead against the Robbers and Rebels! None lives within the Palace but the Emperor, his Wives, Concubines and Eunuchs. Only the Vice-Roys, Counsellors, Great Mandarins, and Officers can go into the Palace. Among the 24 Missioners that met in the Metropolis the Year 1665, only Father John Adam, who was Professor of Mathematicks, had ever been within the Palace. Afterwards about 1668 and 69, the three that remain'd there went in, being sent for by the Emperor.

They report the Apartments and Rooms are very stately and noble, especially the Emperor's Bedchamber; but I never heard they were 79, as Bishop Mayolo writes, wherein he follows Mendoza; nor are there any Rooms of Gold, Silver, or precious Stones, as the same Author says, and Fr. Luzena affirms.[1] How

[1] For João de Lucena, SJ, see Barbosa Machado, II, 625–6. 'Mayolo' is presumably Simon Majolo d'Asti, Bishop of Montecorvino and Volturara (1572–97), author of a universal history.

could these things be hid from us who liv'd so many Years in that Country, and some time at the Court, inquiring diligently, and examining into the most remarkable things there? The Chinese History tells us, the Arch'd Roof of an antient Emperor's State-room was of Gold, which I do not find any difficulty to give credit to; and I am satisfy'd he that now reigns might have the like if he pleas'd. Nor are the Tiles of Gold, as others have reported, but they are glaz'd Yellow, which is the Emperor's Colour; when the Sun shines on them, they look like Gold or polish'd Brass. The petty Kings of the Blood Royal use exactly the same; and they are on the Temples of deceas'd Emperors; There are other Tiles blew glaz'd, which I have seen on some Temples and look very graceful. I have sometimes seen the Tiles with which the Floors of the Palace are laid, they are square, and as large as the Stones on the Floor of St Peter's in Rome; some were glaz'd Yellow, and others Green, as smooth and glossy as a Looking-Glass, and must doubtless be a great Ornament to a Room.

When Xun Chi, Father to the present Emperor, died, they turned out of the Palace 6000 Eunuchs, and I conceive they expell'd as many Women, for every Eunuch has a Woman to wait upon him. The Emperor has as many Concubines as he pleases; but the Empire is oblig'd to furnish him as many as there are Towns and Citys in it. There are 24 Kings at the Emperor's Court, but they are only Titular, and have no Subjects, as among us the Titular Bishops *in partibus Infidelium*: The Emperor maintains them all. The Missioners call them Petty Kings, and they are Generals of the Army. There are as many Major Generals, whom they call Cusan, these are introduced by the Tartar, the Chinese had none of them. When any Service is to be done, only two or three of these receive the Orders, and they convey them to their Men, who are always in readiness; and they immediately march, and with great Secrecy execute the Commands they have receiv'd.

The Emperor keeps 6000 Horses in his Stables, as I heard at Court, and is able to keep many more. He has also 24 Elephants; these are carried to the Palace with rich Trappings every New and Full Moon, which are the Times when the Magistrates go to pay

their Respects to the Emperor. An indifferent River runs through the midst of the Court, being let in under the Wall, and runs through the Orchards, Gardens, and Groves causing a continual spring. At small distances there are curious Bridges over it: The best of them, which is almost joining to the Yellow Wall, was our Road to the Courts, and to Father Adam, his Church. Besides all this, there is a Bell at Pe King, which, as those Fathers said, weighs more than the four biggest in all Europe, which they say are in England. Father Adam weighed it and it came to 1200 Quintals (which is 60 Tuns*).

There is in Peking a very noted Tower, call'd of the Mathematicks; in it are sundry very antient Instruments, with admirable graving on Brass-plates; with them they observe the Eclipses, and other Observations belonging to this Science. Some Mathematicians always watch atop of it, who observe the Motions of the Stars, and remark any thing particular that appears in the Sky, whereof the next day they give the Emperor an Account. When anything unusual occurs, the Astrologers meet, and make their Judgments whether it portends Good or Evil to the Imperial Family.

I ever heard it agreed, that the Emperor's Table was made up of Fifteen, each answering to a particular Province, and containing the Dishes and Dainties therefrom. In China they do not use Table-cloths, nor other Utensils common among us: The Tables are beautiful, many of them varnished as fine as Looking-glasses. They touch not the Meat with their Hands, but make use of little Sticks about a foot long, with which they carry it neatly to their Mouths; some are made of sweet Wood, some of Ivory, others of Glass, which are in great esteem, and were invented by the Dutch; but now the Chineses make them curiously. Great Men have them of Silver, and only the Emperor of Gold, as are the Dishes and other Vessels serv'd up to his Table, the Petty Kings are of Silver tipt with Gold. This way of eating has always been among the Chinese, the Japonese learn'd it of them. Table-cloths and Napkins, and a great deal of Lye and Sope might be sav'd in Europe, if this Fashion were introduced; we Missioners like it very well.

The Buildings are low, but as they said who had seen inside them, and I my self afterwards saw at Canton, very beautiful and airy, with fine Courts, Gardens, and other pleasant Conveniences. The Streets of the Imperial City are wide, numerous and long, so that it would be a great trouble to do any business, had not the foresight of that People been so singular, for they have Beasts of Carriage, ready saddl'd and bridl'd, to hire to those that go from place to place; so that any Man who has business, or goes a visiting, or to take his Pleasure, may upon very easy terms be furnished with an Ass, Mule or Calash that will carry three or four. The Owner goes along with him and looks to his Beast, whilst the other is about his business, or a visiting; and thus is he carried back, and for a very small Expence does his business and saves being tired. This Convenience is to be had in such abundance, that if a Man would have fifty, or a hundred or more Beasts, they shall be brought to his door in less than half an hour.

I can find nothing in Europe to compare with the multitude of People that is afoot and on horseback about the Streets. The Tartar Women wear Boots and ride astride like Men, and make a notable Figure either afoot or a Horseback, but are very modest in their Garb; their Sleeves are somewhat wide and cover their Hands, their Garment black and hanging on the ground, their Hair breaded without any other Head-dress, tho many of them wear on their Heads those Caps we all use there.

We met with one very pleasant thing in the Imperial City, which is abundance of Ice, an infinite quantity is consum'd, and yet it is not worth above half a Farthing a Pound. The manner of using it is not the same as among us, but they take a piece as clean and transparent as the very Chrystal, which is put into a earthenware Bason, and over it they pour some fair Water, so by degrees it dissolves, and the Water is so very cold there is no drinking of it. This Drink is wholesom in that Country, and very convenient because of the vast Heat. They have not got the way in China of making the Ice Cisterns as we do in Europe, but it is very pleasant to see Cart-loads of Ice at every Corner of a Street, and Men going about to offer it as you go by. Tho this be a Truth well known to all the Missioners, yet Father Martin Martini in his 'Chinese

Atlas' had the Face to write, that the Chineses of the Imperial City do not drink their Liquors cool: His own Brethren laught at this and many other things he writ: it will be fit the Reader take notice of it, that he may read this Author cautiously, and that he be inform'd, that one Night after Supper this Question was put before the whole company: Father Magallanes, a Portuguese, and Father Bullo, a Sicilian, were the Persons that propos'd it, saying 'The Question is, Who was most misinform'd concerning the Affairs of China, Marcus Venetus [Marco Polo] or Father Martini, allowing they were both much in the wrong?' Several opinions were given upon the Subject, but Father Bullo clear'd the Doubt, and said, both of them writ many mere Chimera's; Father George [Jorge] found three in only what relates to the Court, and many more daily come to light; and if he that is taken in one Story is suspected ever after, what must he be who is catch'd in so many?[1]

Besides the Seven Councils in Peking there are the six famous Courts, among whom all the Business of the Empire is divided. The third of these Courts is Li Pu, the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, whose care it is to examine the Doctrines that are preach'd, the Business of Embassadors, and to regulate Court-Funerals. The Court of the Mathematicks is subordinate to this; and here our Cause was try'd.

The Ground each Court takes up is very much. The Shape and Structure of them is all the same, all the difference is, that some are bigger than others. They all look towards the South with their Backs towards the North where the Emperor resides. Each Court has three Doors, on which are painted horrible Giants, ghastly to look at, all to terrify the Multitude. That in the middle is very

[1] Verbiest, not unnaturally, protested at this publication of idle after-dinner remarks. Magalhães, admittedly, was extravagant in his accusations (e.g. his letter to General Nickel, 17 February 1659, ARSI, JapSin 162, f. 44) but as a loyal Portuguese he would have disliked Martini, who was an indiscreet Italian with a reputation for anti-Portuguese sentiments. Magalhães complained even in print, and behind his remarks can be seen the sort of thing that Navarrete, unfairly perhaps, reports. See, for instance, Magalhães, 265: 'It has nine Gates . . . Not twelve Gates, according to the Relation of Father Martini in his Atlas, p. 29 wherein he seems to have followed M. Polo 1.2.c.7' (see also ibid. 16–17, 23, 38, 265, 268, and the editor's Preface).

large, and none but Mandarines, or Persons of great Note come in at it. The two little ones are on the sides of it, at which those that have Causes depending, and the Commonalty come in. Next is a great Court big enough to bait Bulls in. In it are three Causways, each answering to one of the Doors; but that in the middle is rais'd above a yard higher than the others, with a stone Arch, and another Gate in the middle of it. On the sides are a vast number of Rooms, under Piazza's, for Clerks, Sollicitors, and other Officers. A Temple is never wanting. Opposite to the Doors are very orderly great Halls, and within them others as good; Courts are kept in both of them.

A little above 20 Leagues from the Imperial City of Pe King lies the Wall of China, so famous among all Authors, which may deservedly be call'd the only Wonder of the World.[1] We being Prisoners in that City, it was then no time to take our Pleasure, or go to see it. I will write what I have been told several times, especially whilst I was in the said City. It runs along four Provinces from East to West. The Country where the Wall begins is in writing call'd Kuang Tung, that is, 'Bright East', and it is not the Name of that Province which we call Canton, which is spelt thus, Kuang Tung, but signifies 'large and stretched out East', for the Tones are different and the Accent of the one is single, the other is not.

What I could make out is, that it is 360 Spanish Leagues in length, thirty Cubits high (and the Cubits of China are larger than ours), and its breadth is above twelve Cubits.[2] It rises and falls according to the Ground it runs over. In the Province of Pe King it breaks off for some space because of the Mountains. There are many Towers upon it for the Sentinels, and some Gates to pass through, but secur'd with strong Castles. All this monstrous Pile was rais'd in five Years, and 205 before the Incarnation of our

[1] Its fame was certainly wide-spread: the 'Mercure Galant' (November 1684, 133) thought it greater than the Seven Wonders of the World put together; Dr Johnson 'expressed a particular enthusiasm with respect to visiting the wall of China. I catched it for a moment' (Boswell, *Life* (ed. Birkbeck Hill), III, 269).

[2] For all this see W. E. Geil, *The Great Wall of China* (London, 1909); and P. Lum, *The Purple Barrier: The Story of the Great Wall of China* (London, 1960); and briefer mention in Richard, 28–9.

Redeemer. The whole Empire sent three Men out of every ten, who working in sundry Places at a distance, finish'd the Work in so short a time. The whole Wall is of hard Stone, without any Lime or Sand, but so closely knit and neatly join'd that the smallest Nail cannot be drove in betwixt the joints. The Emperor Cing Xi Hoang [Shih Huang-ti] order'd it to be built after that manner. On that side of Leao Tung [Liaotung] where it begins, it runs a quarter of a League into the Sea; the Foundation was laid on a great Number of Ships filled with Iron Bars and sunk there.

Who can chuse but admire this Structure, especially if they consider all these Circumstances we have mention'd?

The Army the Emperor of China kept to guard his Wall, consisted of a Million of Men, others say a Million and a half. As in Spain we send Criminals to Oran and to the Galleys, so here they are sentenced to serve at the Wall. This Punishment was also allotted for Sodomy; but if all that are guilty of this Vice were to pay that Penalty, I reckon that China would be unpeopled, and the Wall over-garison'd.

I know not whether I got the better of the Sloth which hindered me from reading the little Book *'de Bello Tartarico'*, publish'd by the Rev. Father Martini, or whether my Curiosity got the better of me; but I accidentally took it up thinking it to be the 'Problems' of Aristotle, and I then resolv'd to look it over. At page 26 I see he confirms what I writ earlier, that the Chineses had a Million of Men to guard the Wall; I said some added half a Million more. The Expence would doubtless be prodigious, and it is wonderful how they carry Provisions and Necessaries for such a multitude, and defend them from the cold, which is very sharp there in Winter, when they must stand in need of many things. To me who know that Country, the supplying all these Wants seems more easy, than to relieve two hundred Soldiers from Madrid, if they were but at the Pardo. This is no Hyperbole, nor Exaggeration but a known Truth, admitting not the slightest Doubt.

When the Tartars enter'd the Imperial City, there were 7,000 Pieces of Cannon mounted on the Walls, so we were inform'd in that Metropolis, but there being no body to play them, it was the same thing as if there had been none. The Emperor wanted the

Love of his Subjects, and Eunuchs, who betray'd him; what then signify'd the Cannon? What signifies a mighty Army of resolute Soldiers, and well provided, if they want Faith and Loyalty?

The Emperor of China was ever provident in laying up a Treasure, a necessary Precaution to be able to relieve the Publick, and the Subjects in their Necessities; But this must not be done, as that Chinese Emperor who preceded the Tartar did; he gathered much, and was very covetous, so that it only profited the Rebel, who seiz'd the Royal City, and set fire to the Palace.[1] He carry'd away vast Riches, yet when the Tartar came he found a great quantity. After the Palace was burnt, Father Adam went into it to behold 'where Troy Town stood',[2] and walking through the Rooms, found a Manuscript Book in our antient [European] Character on Vellum; and as Father Brancati, to whom it was sent, told me it contain'd a Text and Commentary; the Character of the Text was small and unintelligible, that of the Commentary was larger, and some of it might be read: The Subject was Divinity; it was often quoted St Augustine and St Thomas, but no other Author. It is not known when or how that Book was carry'd into China, and presented to the Emperor.

I will conclude this Part with the relation of the State with which the Emperor goes out of his Palace, as it was told me by Father John Balat, a Jesuit, who himself saw the late Emperor [Shun-chih] when he went to Father Adam, his Church. In the first place, the Doors of all the Houses in the Streets through which he is to pass, are all shut, and the People retire, so that not a Soul is to be seen; and if any were, they would be severely Punish'd. Before there come out a Horseback all the petty Kings, Ko Laòs and great Mandarines, who ride close to the Walls that the whole Street may lie open. Next follow 24 Colours of yellow Silk, which is the Colour of the Emperor's Livery, with golden Dragons embroider'd on them for his Arms. Then come 24 Umbrelloes of the same Colour, with treble Coverings, which are

[1] Wan-li (1573–1620) was 'primarily interested in hoarding vast treasure for himself and his favoured sons' (Hummel, I, 597).

[2] A proverb: 'to express any place . . . that was famous and nothing of it left but Ruins' (Stevens, *Dictionary*); after Vergil, *Aen.* ii, 325.

very sightly; I have seen many of this sort and make. After them are 24 great rich Fans, of which I have seen some, and they would be much valued in Europe. Behind these marches the Imperial Guard, which is very numerous. These and the rest we shall speak of, wear a yellow Livery richly wrought, and sightly Helmets of the same Colour. Four and Twenty Men in the same Garb carry the Emperor's Chair, or Palanquine, which is of great Value; and at certain distances the like number stands as Relays. Then follow many Musicians, and after them Pages and Footmen. This in Writing seems little, but is prodigious to behold, as that Father [Valat] said.[1]〉

6. So six Missioners of us had come together to the Northern Court of the Empire; and by degrees those that lived in other Provinces join'd us, and we met five and twenty of us in all, besides the four Jesuits that resided at the Imperial City, and five friars of my Order that hid themselves at Fo Kien, while another of Ours, [friar Vittorio Riccio] having no convenience of hiding, went over to Manila in a Dutch Ship then in that Kingdom.[2]

〈The Tribunal of Rites, hearing that we offer'd Sacrifice to the Lord of Heaven, it seem'd to them that we were usurping the Emperor's Right; so they forbad the Missioners to say Mass, saying that Sacrifice pertain'd privily to the Emperor and that no other might perform it. When I reach'd Court I found that the Fathers there, outwardly obeying and so as not to appear to go against that Command, said four Masses no more, during the Night about one or two of the Clock.

We continued in the Imperial City until finally they called us and having counted us like Sheep without speaking a word to us, they carried us to the Council of War, where they handed us over, in order that they might take us to Macao, whither we were banished. The following day we left the Court with much clattering Soldiery. It was the 13th of September of 1665.[3]〉

Most of what befel us has been writ before, it will be proper in

[1] *T* 12–14, 20, 24–5, 28, 30–1, 445–6.

[2] Fuller details are given at *C* 611. The Dominican friars who managed to continue working secretly were García, Varo, del Valle, Verge, and also the Chinese Lo, who, as a native, was not included in the Imperial order.

[3] *C* 129, 161, 269.

this place to mention some things that have been publish'd without any ground for them; one is, that the Bonzes' gather'd thousands of Ducats to suborn the Members of the Court of Rites against us. This was inquir'd into at the Imperial City, and no other ground could be heard of it, but that a Christian heard an Infidel say so in a Tavern. Upon this some believ'd it as if it had been a certain truth, and as such have printed it. A strong Argument against it is, that at the same time the Bonzes also were persecuted. So they therefore had enough to do at that time to mind their own business, without minding what did not concern them: and if they brib'd anyone it was likely they did so to save themselves, not to hurt others. Besides, what harm has the Law of God hitherto done the Bonzes, when there are so few Christians?

〈The Supreme Governour of Canton presented a Petition against the Bonzes; upon which it was ordered, that only 20 should be allowed in every Town, 40 in Cities of the first Rank, 30 in those of the Second. But when we came to Canton they were all undisturbed in their Houses and Monasteries. All these Bonzes profess Chastity; but there have been some special Cases. On the 2nd of April, 1667, we were told the Petty King of Canton had condemned 11 to be burnt alive, for having taken them in Sin, in which there was a Complication of Murder. [*T* 85]〉 It has been given out too, that when they sign'd the Warrant to put us to death, a fiery Ball fell upon the Palace, and did great Mischief, which is all false and groundless. I was at the Imperial City with the rest, and we neither saw nor heard of it. And tho this be a Negative Proof, yet it is convincing, because we often pass'd under the Palace Walls, we convers'd with Christians and Infidels, and our Servants and others told us every thing that hap'ned, and all that was talk'd of us very particularly; how then should we have had no account of such a Prodigy?

7. Besides the very Foundation is false, for Sentence of Death was never pass'd against us, all the Judgments the Court of Rites gave against us were revers'd by the four Governours [Regents] who only approv'd of that of Banishment. Father Adam was adjudged to be cut in a thousand pieces but the Judgment was not approv'd; they reduced the sentence to quartering but that

sentence also was rejected; nor would they admit the last, which was, to banish us all into Tartary.

8. I have also read several times, that Father John Adam often excus'd himself to the Emperor from being concern'd in the Mathematicks, and that he had the Employment against his will. Why should any body give this out, when his own Brethren are of the contrary opinion, and own it? What I write is so true, that Father Verbiest making his excuses from attending the Mathematicks, on account that he was a Religious and the Emperor alledging that Father Adam was so too, and yet follow'd that Employment, this Father [Verbiest] answer'd, 'That was the reason he had ever liv'd in sorrow and discontent.' This Answer becoming afterwards known at Canton, where we were altogether, Fr Gouvea, Superior of that Mission, and Fr Favre who had been so before him, both said in my hearing, 'Fr Verbiest ly'd, and deserves to have his Head cut off for it: Does not he know that this Punishment is due to him that lies and imposes on the Emperor of China?' This is a clear case, there is no need of palliating it, nor any reason for it. It is requisite to be cautious in reading other things which have been publish'd in Europe, and shall be taken notice of in their due time.

9. That a Comet appear'd several days before the Persecution, it is true, but the same appear'd in these Parts [of Europe]. It is true, that a well-shap'd Cross was seen some Years before in the Metropolis of Xan Tung [Shan-tung]. So it is, that about that time there were Earthquakes; and that whilst we were in the Imperial City, the Rains were so great, that part of the second Wall was ruin'd. My opinion is, and Fr Luveli of the Society is the same, that Christianity is not yet so far advanced there, that God should work Miracles in it or for it.[1]

〈The day we went out to Banishment, being 25 Missioners and 30 Christians that attended us, in a moment we were all furnish'd with Asses, which are excellent Cattel for travelling. That after-

[1] Others saw the hand of God in these events (Santa Cruz, 460–1; Le Comte, 369). Navarrete is nearer to Voltaire's sentiments: 'If God had wished China to become a Christian nation would He have confined Himself to engraving crosses on the sky? Would He not have engraved them in the hearts of the Chinese?' (*Age of Louis XIV*, ch. xxxix).

noon we travell'd five Leagues with ease, and in a short time, the Country about the Imperial City being all as smooth as ones hand. [*T* 24]⟩

10. Only five and twenty of us Missioners sail'd for Macao, for those who had been residing in the Imperial City remain'd there because they had all eaten the King's Bread, and therefore were left there, according to the Chinese Policy. Father Adam was a Cripple and he soon dy'd while the other three were kept close Prisoners almost two Years. We were six months and twelve days going to Macao; we were all a terrible Winter in the Boats, and suffer'd great hardships, which if I would write it would fill many Sheets.[1]

⟨We travell'd the River that is cut for the Emperor's Boats, and for an infinite multitude of other Boats in that Country, and which reaches within a small distance of the Imperial City. This is another Wonder, and no small one either, for it is above 200 Leagues in length; for one hundred the Water runs away to the North, the other hundred it flows to the South. We sail'd the whole length of it as we went away banish'd from the Court.

Being come to the middle of it we found a great Idol Temple standing on the Bank, and near it a good Spring, which there divides it self into two small Brooks, one turning to the North, and the other to the South. This Water is not enough for large Vessels, so that at times they are forced to stay for the Rains; and there are sometimes 500, sometimes 800 Boats stopt there till the Rain falls. This hapn'd when we were going up to the Imperial City. To supply this Defect, and endeavour to make it navigable at all times, they have found a useful but costly Expedient, which is, that on the South side, where is the greatest want of Water, they have 80 strong Sluices. Two strong stone Walls come down from the Land at equal distances, which drawing on still closer and closer, reach to the middle of the River, where they form a narrow Passage only capable of one large Boat at a time; this Passage is clos'd with mighty Sluices. At every one of these there is a Mandarine, with a great many Men to help the Vessels

[1] Navarrete was travelling with Brancati, Santa María, Sarpetri, and Leonardo (*C* 64). Magalhães (131) had travelled that way earlier.

through. When the Sluices are shut, that little Water which runs in betwixt them in half a day, rises above a fathom and a half; then they suddenly throw open the Flood-gates, and the Vessels rush out as swift as an Arrow out of a Bow, and make all the way they can, till the Water again failing them, they are forc'd to repeat the same thing again. As some Boats fall down, others are going up; and this being more difficult because it is against the force of the Stream, such a number of Men join to hale them with Ropes, that it is wonderful to see how swift they drag a Vessel of above eighty Tun against the Current of that impetuous Torrent.[1]

They observe great Order, and have their precedency in passing. The King's Vessels, of course, have the first place, and among them the worthiest, and those that carry Ambassadors, or Persons of Note. Many too that ought to come last, buy a good Place. It is amusing and worth observing, to hear what Shouts, and noise of little Drums and Horns there is when any great Vessel goes through, especially if it be at Midnight, as we did sometimes. These Delays make the Voyage tedious. We spent six months and twelve days between the Court and Canton, which was time enough to sail from Goa to Lisbon. When there are great Rains, the Water gushes out in several Places, and breaks down the Banks that should keep it in. To prevent this Mischief, there are always abundance of People employ'd in several Parts to repair them with Turf, Earth, Sticks and Stakes.

There is no doubt but the cutting of that River was a prodigious Expence, and they are at no small Charge in keeping it in Repair; but it is as certain, that the Land-carriage would be more intolerably dear than it is by this Conveniency. Great Art was us'd in cutting of it, for it is all full of turnings and windings in order to stay the Current of the Water. It is an incredible Number of Boats of all Sizes that is continually going upon it; and the same may be seen in other Places upon other Rivers. The multitude we saw in this Voyage was so great that the Missioners who valued themselves upon their Knowledge in the Mathematicks, computed it and maintain'd there were enough to build a Bridg from Macao to Goa, which are distant 900 Leagues from one another, or more,

[1] For a fuller description see Magalhães, 113–20.

as some will have it. There are those who affirm, there are more Vessels in China than in all the rest of the known World. This will seem incredible to many Europeans; but I, who have not seen the eighth part of the Vessels in China, and have travel'd a great part of the World, do look upon it as most certain. There is another thing very wonderful: all along the way we have spoke of, there is a great plenty of all sorts of Provisions, not only at reasonable, but at very inconsiderable and even low Rates; and the Passengers being without Number, the Prodigy is the greater. A good Pidgeon is sold for a Half-penny, a large fat Pullet with Eggs for three Half-pence, and where there is more scarcity, for Two-pence; a pound of excellent large Fish for Three-farthings, and sometimes less; Beef, Hares, Pork, and other sorts of Flesh at the same Rate; and very often they came to the Boats to offer these and the like things to sale.

Before we got off this River it began to freeze, and some days they were forced to break the Ice to be able to make way; and if we had been stopp'd a fortnight longer, there had been no avoiding travelling by Land, which would have been mighty troublesome to us. When the cold Weather and Frost came on, we all took notice of a notable Contrivance, and peculiar to the Ingenuity of the Chineses, for earning their Bread; which is, that to secure their fishing in the Rivers and Lakes, and to be able to cast their Nets safe from the terrible frosts that are frequent in those Parts, they make a Case of Buffalo, or Horses Hide well sew'd, with the Hair on the inside, Boots at the bottom, and Gloves and Sleeves of the same all in one piece. Into this they go with their Clothes, Shoes, and Stockings on, then girding it close about their Waste, they fasten it upon one Shoulder. In this manner they run into the River up to their Arm-pits, then cast their Nets; and having drawn them, and caught their Fish, they slip off the Case, having all their Clothes on, and not a drop of Water comes through. We were all Eye-witnesses of this, and did not a little admire it. We saw others in Boats with the same Cases over them, with their Gantlets sew'd to the Oars. And they row'd as swift as Thought.

We had an Order for Boats and for Maintenance, and tho we

did not always get the Sustenance, we shew'd the Order in every City and Town and were given ninety Men for the care of the Boats.

The Southern Court, and for this very Reason call'd Nan King, is most renowned in those Parts, tho the Emperors have not these many Years resided there. I never went within it, but have often times hear'd some Missioners who liv'd there several Years, and other judicious Christians, talk of its greatness. As we were going from the Court to Banishment, we came to Anchor very near to its first Wall, where we lay some days. The Wall is high, beautiful and of a goodly Structure, and the first that ever I saw of that sort in my Life. It has no Battlements, as is usual, but runs in the nature of a Scollop-Lace, as is us'd in some antient Buildings in Spain. The whole is very graceful to behold, and the Chineses say its Circumference is 160 of their Miles, which, according to some of the Missioners Computation, make 16 Spanish Leagues, and according to others 13 or 14.

We pass'd by three very large Lakes in our way from the Imperial City. The first was of so great an extent, that as far as the Horizon terminated our sight, there appear'd nothing but Water, and a considerable part of it was cover'd with Geese and Ducks. The Chineses catch these very artificially. They go into the Water with their Heads thrust into Calabashes, and walk so slowly, that it looks as if nothing moved but the Calabash upon the Water: Being come up in this manner to the Goose or Duck, which they can see through the holes in the Calabash before their Eyes, they lay hold of it by the Feet and pull it under Water, where they wring the Neck, and put it into a Bag they carry for the purpose; once this is full they then go out again as softly as they went in, without disturbing the rest of the birds. This way of catching them is more profitable than sightly; they that do not understand it, would think the Ducks did dive for Food, as they do every moment. These Fowl are dress'd several ways; they are frequently boil'd and their Broth is look'd upon as very nourishing: they are very good roasted, and in Souce; but they are incomparably better salted and dry'd, there's no Gammon can compare with them; and they are a dainty Provision for Sea, or

Travellers at Land. Infinite numbers of them are sold after this manner. Besides they breed abundance in their Houses, which are more valued because they are tame, tho it is hard to distinguish betwixt them by the savour and taste.[1]

The Provinces of Xen Si [Shensi] and Xan Si [Shansi] breed abundance of those Animals that Musk comes from; in that Country they are called Xe. Their Books describe it after this manner; the Body is like that of a small Deer, the Hair resembles that of a Tiger or Ownce; when hard drove by the Hunters, it climbs upon the Rocks, where it bites off the Musk-bag which hangs at its Navel, thinking thus to save its life by surrendring its Treasure to the Hunters; but in a moment it dies. This account of the Books agrees with the common opinion. There is another Creature in those same Provinces very like that we have spoken of, it seems to be an imperfect Species of it, for it only differs in that it has no Musk-Bag, all the rest is exactly the same. This Beast is sold to eat. As we came away from Court, our Men bought one; it is wonderful what a scent the Flesh exhal'd when it was roasted, for it diffused it self all over the Vessel, and into all the Cabbins; when eaten, it tasted like the highest preparation of Musk, and the smell was such as did not offend the taste, but if stronger there had been no eating of it for the Perfume.[2]〉

On reaching Canton we were brought before the Supreme Governour of Canton, who was in his Chair of State, with greater Majesty, Attendants, and Respect, than any Prince in Europe.[3] He said to us, 'The Emperor orders me to send you over to the People of Macao; at present we are variance with that City, stay here the mean while, and I'll take care of you; when the Affair of Macao is adjusted, I'll send you thither.'[4] They carry'd

[1] This opinion was soon to change: 'The abominable Sin of Sodomy is tolerated here, and all over China, and so is Buggery, which they use both with Beasts and Fowls, in so much that Europeans do not care to eat Duck, except what they bring up themselves' (Hamilton, II, 125–6).

[2] *T* II, 29–30, 41, 43, 46, 204.

[3] The 'Supreme Governor' was the Viceroy of Liang-kuang, Lu Hsing-tsu (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 78).

[4] The Ch'ing government had ordered (1662) the evacuation of the coast in the hope of cutting off supplies from the Ming pirate Coxinga (*T* 415–20; Hummel, I, 108–9; Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 155); the Jesuits in Peking got Macao exempted from this

us to a House that had been the Church of the Jesuit Fathers. It was night when we came to it and we had much ado to find every one of his Rags, and compose our selves to rest; there was neither Fire, nor Candle, nor a morsel to eat, nor a drop of Water and though we did nothing but stumble and fall, we were very well pleas'd. Blessed be the Lord, for whose sake we suffer'd!

11. We spent some days very uneasily. The Governor twice sent us 250 Ducats in Silver; it was a noble Alms, and well tim'd for us. Who would imagine a Heathen should be so good to us? With this Supply some little Cells were contriv'd, in which we liv'd very contentedly.

〈In two days time we furnish'd our selves with all Necessaries finding Tables, Chairs, Beds, Presses, Boxes, Chests, all of Cane, ready made in the Shops. These Cane-chairs, Table, Bed, &c., lasted me four Years and I left them never the worse for wearing. The Bed cost a Ryal and a half (nine pence*), the Table a Ryal (six pence*); three quarters of a Ryal (four pence half penny*) every Chair, and a Ryal the Shelf for Books; and the rest were bought at the same rates.

Our Detention (for no one called it Prison) was divided in three Stages: the first was severe and streight and no one of us left the House. The first four Days there were Guards, and the Mandareens came divers times to take our Names and to know by them if any of us was missing. The Purpose of this was that none should fly back to his Church, or Inland, to preach, which was forbid by the Emperor but it was not done to stop us from going to Macao, for they knew with all plain Evidence that we could not go thence back into the Kingdom. It was during these Circumstances of Time, when we were but freshly arriv'd there, and they had much Care of us, going to count our Names frequently, that Father Brancati left without telling his Superior. Father Brancati was living in that Part of the House near a small side-door which opened upon some marshy Land adjoining an estuary;

order, but when they fell from favour the Macanese were ordered to remove to Canton or to leave China. The Mandarin's 'variance' arose over a bribe promised him by Macao, but not paid; his kindness to the missionaries was, therefore, the more admirable. See pp. 269–70, 271–2 below.

and he, being over-zealous for the Welfare of his Flock, was there one Night and gone next Morning.[1] He left some Billets for the elder Jesuit Fathers, and one for me also, in which he gave Account of his Design and of the Licence he had for performing it. Great was the Fright of all and we were alarmed by this inopportune Resolve. The Risk of suffering for us and for our Christians was evident. A common Council was held over the Means to be taken and the Result was, it was necessary to send someone to find him with all Diligence before the News should get out of our House. Father Manuel Jorge went after him in a light Vessel and such was his great Care that on the second Day he catch'd up with him upon the River where Father Brancati was sailing with all Speed. And upon the third Day he return'd bringing him back. The Door was stopp'd up and having confess'd his imprudent Zeal in Publick as we were at Table, we became quiet again and were calm'd. None doubt'd but that from this Flight considerable Harm for us all and for the Mission could have followed.

Father Fabre had beseech'd our Chinese Friar, Gregory Lo,[2] to go to visit his Flock and to console them; and he had walked 400 Leagues for this Purpose and at our Expence. Then, for some Reason, during this same streight period, the Jesuits changed their Minds, and decided that four Fathers of theirs, Brancati, Fabre, Ferrari, and Gabiani, should go themselves. And this was decided so privily from us Friers that we almost knew nothing of it until the Project fell through. The Case was that on the Evening

[1] Span. *Anocheció y no amaneció*; a popular phrase, the English equivalent of which is 'to do a moonlight flit'.

[2] The Dominicans were proud of their foresight in having ordained a native who was now able to move about the country since he was not included in the ban on the foreign missionaries. Some Jesuits, however, had been against his ordination, according to Navarrete, because they had had unfortunate experiences with their own native lay brothers. After the ordination of the Chinese Jesuit, Siqueira, this opposition declined (*C* 265–6, 287, 433). Even now, during the persecution, some Jesuits were unwilling that the Chinese friar should attend their Christians (*T* 144), though others, e.g. Gama, praised him. See also Father Magalhães's letter of praise, published by Biermann, 'Fr. G. López OP'. For Lo's life, see J. M. González, OP, *Biografía del primer obispo chino . . . Fr. Gregorio López OP* (Manila, 1946). Gama's letter is at ARSI JapSin 162, f. 241.

before they were to depart, the Mandarines came to take our Names and to count us all. From this they realized their Design was imprudent; had it been done it is certain that greater Hurt would have followed than from that first Case I recounted. In the end Friar Lo made his Visit and it is known that these Christians remained consoled and comforted, and that tho, up to the time I left, he still had two more Provinces to visit, he had already baptiz'd 2556; and later more.

Until a Year and three Months pass'd no one of us left the House, and after that very little, and I more than any of the others tho always in a closed sedan-chair and hid from Sight. And then Father Lubelli, who was the Parish Priest of Canton, began to go out and to serve his Christians. Sundays and Holydays he went to say Mass for the Wives of the Negros; these latter, repairing them selves to our House. But some of his Colleagues censured him for this and out of Fear they prevented him from attending his Converts whom they oblig'd, if they were ill, to be carry'd to our House for Confession.

The second Stage of the three I mention'd, began with our Visit to the Petty King [Shang K'o-hsi] upon St John's Day in 1668 [24 June].[1] Then we began to enjoy some Sort of Relief and to go out of the House upon Occasion although with Prudence. It was in this period of time that Father Prosper Intorceta, having been elected Procurator General of the Jesuits in the China Mission, left our Detention with the Leave of his Superior, to go to Macao. After he writ us how, upon the Road thither, he had three great Risks of being recognised. He took with him a good Christian Chinese, a Printer of Books, by name Paul. In Goa, later, I heard that this Man had returned thence to his Country.[2]

The third Stage began in October 1669, when the Emperor's Order concerning us came down from Peking. Thenceforwards, our going to Macao depended Entirely upon our own Will. For

[1] The 'Petty King' is undoubtedly the P'ing-nan-wang, or 'Prince who pacifies the South', Shang K'o-hsi, (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 78; Hummel, II, 635–6).

[2] Navarrete omits to say that Intorcetta's place was taken by a volunteer from Macao, so that, since the number of prisoners remained the same, there was comparatively little danger of his absence being discovered. For gossipy details about the election of this Jesuit Procurator, see *C* 606. He was elected in October 1666.

this we joined all together, to see if we would go thither. And since not a few wanted to leave there, we treated the Point with John Li Pe Ming, who was our Confidant and he reply'd, 'Fathers, if you wish to go to Macao, the Business will be settled upon your saying the Word.'[1] For it was plain and evident to the Mandarines that we were going to that City, and not back into the Interior of the Kingdom. And in all this time we were not seen nor visited by a single Mandarin. We were free for months and the Mandarines did not remember us. Every day six of us went walking a-broad by the River; and whoever wish'd could leave the House.

In no one of these Stages was there a Person who went to any Township or Village, or Farmhouse outside of Canton City, where the great Number of Christians are Negros. There is not a single Christian, nor has there been, in the Villages, except in that large Village called Foxan [Fo-shan] four Leagues from Canton, where there was a single House to which I once went, because Friar Lo was there.

Spanish and Portuguese Books were read to us while we were at Table and when the Meal was over the Lector, standing, would read the Martyrology also in Spanish.[2] And at the end, if some Father renown'd for his Piety among the Jesuits had died upon that Day, his Elogy would be related. All of which seem'd to me to be excellent. Upon the 11th of May in that first Year [1666] reading the Elogy of Father Mathew Ricci, they crowned this by adding that the Christians of China had writ a Letter to His Holiness, begging him to canonize that Father. This seem'd well enough to us, although the Means were not thought efficatious. But what was most strange was that the next two Years, reading the same Elogy they pass'd over in Silence the Business of that Letter without making any Mention of it again; to this day I've not found the Reason for this Change.

At Table the Life of the Most Reverend Lord Alonso Mendez, [Jesuit] Patriarch of Ethiopia, was read out to us, and upon my

[1] For John Li Pé-ming, see Pfister, 291; *SinFran* III, 105, 325.

[2] The Martyrology is a collection of brief lives of the martyrs and saints commemorated on each day of the Christian year.

Word, his Chronicler all but put him beside Sts Peter and Paul, as anyone who reads that Life will see. I put here a Clause out of a Letter he writ from Goa to Propaganda Fide in Rome (they have it there still, and both Friar John Baptist Morales and I have seen it). He said, translated into Castilian, 'These idiot Friars with their Rashness are gradually ruining the China Mission as they did that of Japan, where, while the Jesuit Fathers with their great Learning and Prudence were alone, all was at Peace.'[1]

Other than this, in Canton we had read to us (and I myself read) Fr Gouvea's 'History of China', some things of which I copied.[2] I should rejoice greatly were that 'History' of his publish'd; for in it may be read some of what I myself write.[3]⟩

The Dispute with Macao prov'd very dangerous for that City, for the Chineses were about destroying it, and bring all the inhabitants into Canton. The News from the Court was various and confused; the Opinions of the Missioners very opposite to one another as to the event of our Affair. Some, with good reason, thought it was ended, since we were banish'd by the Emperor's Orders. Others fancy'd it would come to nothing, and we should all soon be restor'd to our Churches. In this confusion we pass'd our time in Study and Prayer; our Life as to the World being sad and dismal, but happy with regard to God, for whose Faith we had lost our Liberty.

12. A Year and half after there came to Macao an Ambassador from Goa, as from the King of Portugal.[4] He was brought into

[1] This ticklish subject is discussed in *C* 32–5.

[2] For Gouveia, see Pfister, 220–3. The 'History' remains unpublished; on his *Asia Extrema* see M. de L. Belchior Pontes, 'A Asia Extrema do P. Gouveia', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, XXII (1956), 5–20.

[3] *T* 37, 79; *C* 32, 61, 64, 89, 109, 246, 256, 604–5, 609, 633, 656–7.

[4] One of the reasons for this embassy was to plead for the inhabitants of Macao; there is a considerable literature upon the affair; see, for instance, Fu, 'Two Embassies'; C. R. Boxer and J. M. Braga, *A Embaixada de Manuel de Saldanha* (Macao, 1942); D. R. Pires de Lima, *A Embaixada de Manuel de Saldanha* (Lisboa, 1930); L. Petech, 'Some Remarks on the Portuguese Embassies to China in the K'ang-hsi Period', *T'oung Pao*, XLIV (1956), 227–41; E. Brazão, 'The Embassy of Manuel de Saldanha to China in 1667–70', *Boletim do Instituto Português de Hong Kong*, I (1948), 139–62. Saldanha seems to have been the commander of the city of Olivença, which after a feeble resistance surrendered to the Spanish in 1657, and as a punishment he was banished for the rest of his life to India; it was the Viceroy of

Canton, meanly treated, and look'd upon as a sham Ambassador, upon which account there were some incidents and stories. He was brought sick, and his Secretary, one Companion and the Chaplain, saw the Governor, who commanded them to bow both Knees, and knock the ground with their Foreheads [Kow-tow] which was a great Affront.[1] The Governor enquir'd after the Ambassador's Quality, the Chaplain, thinking it a great Honour, said, He had been a Captain of Horse. The Governor laugh'd, and answer'd, 'My Servants are Captains of Horse, and some of them greater Officers.' And he was in the right. He sent them to the Metropolis, with Orders they should be receiv'd within the Walls, and care taken of them; they had a mean House assign'd them, and the Governor sent Advice to the Emperor. Tho this be notorious and publickly known, yet the following Year the Portugueses writ to Goa, giving an account that the Ambassador had been receiv'd with the greatest Honour in the World and that the petty King came out himself to meet him, with his Galleys full of Musick, with Flags and Streamers, and had receiv'd him into them; and that afterwards they lodg'd him in a sumptuous Palace, and much more to this effect. We stood amaz'd when we heard this Account afterwards but we could not discover the Author of the Report, tho he was shrewdly guess'd at. He that has seen such things will not be surpriz'd, tho they should write tomorrow that there is no such place as China in the Universe. Another strange Passage happen'd at the Imperial City: Some Letters from Europe came thither by way of Macao; one was for Father Francis Ferrari of the Society, a Savoyard, born at Coni; in it they told him that a Letter had been writ to the Duke of Savoy by order of Pope Innocent the Tenth, wherein his Holiness congratulated with him for having a

Goa who took him up and named him Ambassador to China. See C. R. Boxer (ed.), *Azia Sinica e Japonica* (Macao, 1941–50), II, 77, n. 2.

[1] This story is also told at *C* 274, where Navarrete deals with the need to send Embassies to China, warning, however, that the Chinese regard Europeans much as these latter do the Indians, that is, as savages and 'Barbarians'. It took European Governments another two centuries to realize this fact (C. R. Boxer, 'Portuguese and Spanish rivalry in the Far East during the seventeenth century', *JRAS* (1947), pts. I, II, 99).

Subject in China, who was a great Favorite of the Emperor's, through whose means it was hop'd he and all the Empire would be converted to our Holy Faith. This was meant of the aforesaid Father Ferrari. He, who is a fine Religious, was astonish'd, and smil'd. He show'd the Letter openly, and we had good sport with it, knowing for certain he had never seen the Emperor, nor even been within his Palace. How can it be found out who writ such an Invention? perhaps he who writ several other things Father Kircher relates, was the Author of all [i.e. Martini].

13. Let us return to our Ambassador. He design'd to visit the petty King, and then took into consideration what Respect he was to pay him. He sent a Message to us about it: Opinions vary'd; mine was, that he should not contend about it, but submit to what the petty King thought fit, taking it for granted that he would rather exceed than fall short in Civility. The Chineses are very obliging in this particular. He follow'd his own head, articled that he was to carry Colours, Trumpets, and many other things. They told us the Interview was fix'd for the next day; I never could be perswaded it would come to any thing, because of the Observations I had stated. Next day he and his Family dress'd themselves very gay; and when they were ready to set out, a message came from the petty King, to tell him he was busy, and could receive no Visits. This was a great mortification, and was the reason that no Mandarine visited him.

14. I profess'd my self his Friend in a particular manner and gave him good Advice. But he endur'd some Trouble and Affronts, and was detain'd two Years, during which time he was expensive to Macao, that City being at the Charge of the Embassy. Orders came from the Emperor for him to go to Court, but the Present he carry'd, of which the Particulars had been sent up, seem'd very mean to the Emperor; and yet to say the truth, it was worth above 30000 Ducats. But a little before the Emperor had receiv'd a great one from the Dutch, which perhaps made this seem the less. The Ambassador prepar'd for his Journey, but before he set out, a ripe Passage hapned. The King of Portugal's Letter was read before the Supreme Governour (this was a new one, for his Predecessor had hang'd himself) and the Viceroy; when it was read, they took

notice, that the King of Portugal had not subscribed himself, YOUR MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECT. They ask'd the Ambassador how those Letters came to be omitted, and he answer'd, It was not the Custom of Europe.[1] The Viceroy sent the Emperor word, and he order'd, that in regard the Ambassador had been so long there, he might go to Court, where they would examine into the Omission of the Letters. I had no account afterwards what came of it. Two Dutch Ships arriv'd there about that time. Advice was sent to Court, and immediately a strict Order return'd for them to be gone immediately, without buying or selling any thing. All Trade with Strangers was absolutely prohibited. The Captain's Name was Constantin Noble; he visited us, and design'd to return to Europe the following Year; but I heard afterwards at Musulapatan, that he was dead, and had taken a Journey to Hell.[2]

〈The Flemings among us took care to beg their copies of the Mercuries from the Hollanders; all of them, and I too, read therein a thousand Things and Cases which had occur'd in France with the Jesuits; things of which I had never before had even the slightest Notice. But Nothing surprized us then.

Another day during our Recreation, they related the Hand that Cardinal Everard has in our Government, and how they have made him Inquisitor-General.[3] Whence they pass'd to boast that now the Society had all the Catholic Monarchs, the Emperor, the Kings of France and Portugal and the Favour of the Inquisitor-General of Spain.

In my presence the Ambassador, Manuel de Saldanha, was ask'd about Father Vieira; and he answer'd with all clarity 'Fathers, he is a Prisoner of the Inquisition in Lisbon.' From others I hear the same in divers Parts.[4]

[1] The Viceroy, Chou Yu-te, was not impressed by Europe and reported to the Emperor: 'We find very plainly that it is no more than only Two little Islands in the middle of the Sea' (Magalhães, 62).

[2] For Nobel's embassy to China, see Dapper, 203 ff.

[3] 'Cardinal Everard' is the German Jesuit Nithard (1607–81), confessor and adviser of the Queen-Regent, Mariana; made Inquisitor-General, he was driven into exile by the opposition party, headed by Don John of Austria (1669); he retired to Rome, and died there.

[4] António Vieira, the famous Jesuit preacher, Portuguese patriot and progressive thinker (1608–97), fell foul of the Inquisition and was jailed (1665–7).

Whilst I was writing these Papers,[1] a Supreme Governour came to Canton, only for the time being, until the Proprietor could come from Court; and the first Day he came he distributed among the Poor 500 Bushels of clean Rice, which was a considerable Alms, and had been so from any Prince in Europe. It is certain the Chineses are charitable. All Men ought to be so.

Upon St John's Day [24 June] in the Year 1668, the Petty King invited us to drink a Glass of Wine (so they term it). This was a mighty Kindness, in regard we were confin'd by his Emperor. We thought it not decent to go all of us, it was agreed four should go, and I was one of the number. We presently consider'd whether he would not have some sort of Sport, because it was then New years tide. We had a good Dinner, and some Musick, which oblig'd us to spend about six Ducats, and truly with much regret for our Stock was then very low. These are unavoidable Accidents; we could no way refuse so great an Honour, which besides procur'd us no small Ease and Enlargement in our Confinement. Those who will behave themselves like Gentlemen, must take the Expence upon them, if they would have the Honour and Credit it brings along with it; but this requires a good Purse, which we Missioners want.[2] The Method the Mandarines use in order to perform properly their Duties, is well arranged. It is a clear case, they never go out of their Houses, unless it be to pay Visits, to Invitations from Persons of Note, and about the execution of their Office; they don't use, as we do, to go abroad a walking, for Pleasure, or to take the Air. All their Diversions consist in some Treats, and Plays acted whilst they eat and drink; upon which Occasions the Custom is thus. When the Guests are all come together, the principal Actor delivers a Book of several Plays to the Master of the House, who gives it to his chief Guest, to chuse the Play he likes best. He names it, and it is acted, which shows no small skill in the Actors. When the Play is ended, he that chose it pays for it, and gives some Silver to

[1] That is, during January 1668, since the outgoing Viceroy was discharged on 30 December 1667; and his successor, Chou Yu-te, was appointed 30 January 1668 (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 81).

[2] An aside at the Jesuit mandarins and their style of living.

the Waiters and Cooks. To say the truth they pay dear for their Dinner. Men of great Note will lay out 50 Ducats, others less, and some only Ten, or Twelve. The Chineses are great lovers of Plays, and the mischiefs they cause fall on them, but it is to be noted that in not a few things the Plays of China are less evil than those they present among the Catholicks of Europe. Firstly, in the Plays of China never a Woman has ever enter'd upon the Stage, nor ever will; for that Nation, such a thing would be the greatest Monstrosity in the World. If they were to see what takes place in our Plays there's no doubt they would be most gravely scandaliz'd. Now in China many of the Plays are represented in Honour of, and in Devotion to, different Idols, whence it follows that the only danger for a Christian in these Plays is that of Idolatry. But this danger is not equal in all Plays; nor is it certain in all Plays; whereas here among us, there's the danger of falling into many Faults. In China, they never represent Love matters, Courtings, Concubinages, &c., for they would hold it for Sacrilege. In Europe these matters are ordinary, whence the Young of both Sexes study for worse things. Altho' in China some Women go to the Play, they are very withdrawn apart and hidden from the Men, so that no one dares even to lift his Eyes to see the Place where they are. But the Lewdness and Excess there is in this regard among us, is known and evident: whence it is to be inferr'd what I quote before, 'except in the matter of Idolatry, we are worse than the very Heathen'.[1]〉

15. In October 1669 the Emperor's Order concerning us came down, which made all despair of returning to the Mission. The Fathers at Court having seen the Emperor, found means to get some petty Kings and Counsellors to put in a Memorial in our behalf, which they did.[2] The Contents of it were, that our Enemy had accus'd Father Adam wrongfully, touching the Mathematicks: That the Christians were a good People: That during all that time none of them had made any Commotion, wherefore there was no cause to apprehend a Rebellion: That we who were

[1] *T* 66, 216; *C* 281–2, 605, 617, 621; R 22.

[2] For the end of the persecution, as seen by the Fathers in Peking, see the moving letter of Magalhães in Rougemont.

banish'd to Macao, should be carry'd Prisoners to the Imperial City. (The design of this was, that we might stay in the Kingdom; for when we were come thither, they design'd to propose, that since we were grown old, and many of us sickly, we might be suffer'd to return to our Churches, to die there.) The three Fathers had before writ to us from Pe King, that all would certainly go on our side, and to the greater Glory of our Holy Faith. But Father Emanuel Jorge and I were of opinion it would not be so; others held the contrary; others again knew not what to think.

〈The Letter from the Fathers in Peking gave us to understand that our holy Faith would remain in that Kingdom as before, provided we did not speak evil of the Idols nor of the other religious Sects there, but that we should leave them alone: thus a Petty King had told those Fathers. On divers other Occasions those Fathers had advis'd us to take great Care that it should not be known in the Imperial City that we were still in Canton, fearing that once our detention in Canton became known, they would order us to be sent to Macao; for by then the Difference between the Supreme Governor and Macao City, which was the Cause we were kept in Canton on our Arrival, was now settled. [C 209, 604]〉

A Copy of the Emperor's Order came to our hands: I interpreted it as the rest did, but none of us hit the right Sense. What was bad in it, could be understood in the main, at least. One day afterwards, as I was sailing to Europe, I look'd over and consider'd those Letters [Characters] again and with no little Surprize hit upon the meaning. On St Teresa's day [15 October] I overcame another Difficulty there was in that Paper. The Emperor's words were, 'Jang Kuang Sien' (that was the Chinese's Name who prosecuted us) 'deserves Death, but in regard he is very aged, making use of our Magnanimity, and Bounty, we forgive him at present, and also remit the Penalty of Banishment to his Wife and Children' (when a Man is put to death his Wife and Children are banish'd). 'It is needless to bring those 25 that were sent to Macao back to the Court. As for the Law of the Lord of Heaven, Fr Verbiest and the other two [Magalhães and Buglio] may follow it, as they have done hitherto. I am apprehensive lest they

should again build Churches in this or the other Provinces, or bring People over to the said Law, causing it to continue and propagate itself as before. Therefore let it be made known to them, that they are forbid preaching: as for the rest, let it be as it is in their Memorial.'

16. We afterwards consulted among our selves, whether we should go to Macao, or stay there. The most were for going, because for some time past our stay in Canton had been free and dependent entirely on our own Will. Many thought it convenient to stay, that we might be nearer at hand, in case some Overtures should in process of time be made for restoring of us to our Churches; it was put to the vote, there were scenes and much noisy canvassing, so that nothing was resolv'd on. Then it was that I heard many things, and observ'd some others against the time when it shall prove useful and necessary to repeat them. Not all Truths are to be spoken, if no Benefit is to come of them.[1]

17. There had been already great Earthquakes, Towns were destroyed by Floods, Mountains divided, and there was a great Mortality One City was swallow'd up by the Earth. There was a Report, that a wonderful Dragon had dropt out of the Air: this News was sent into Europe, but it was false and a mere Fiction. An extraordinary Comet was seen for three or four Nights; I was the first that saw it in our House, and it was seen at Macao, it pointed to the East. Soon after we all saw a strange Cross in the Air, but very perfect and compleat, the Head of it was to the East; every Night it continued a considerable time, and then vanish'd by degrees. The sad News was then come too of the loss of the missions of Tunquin and Cochinchina.[2] In the latter there were some famous Men who gave their Lives for the Love of God; something shall be said of it in another place.

[1] Elsewhere (*C* 606) he claims that some Fathers opposed his proposal to ask permission to go to Macao lest they should all be sent with him; this, he alleged (ibid. 434), displeased the older Jesuits who 'hated Macao College like the Devil' and found life in China more agreeable and freer than conventual life. See also ibid. 427.

[2] For references to 'voluminous Jesuit documentation' of this other persecution, see Rouleau, 'Siqueira', 28.

18. We had receiv'd good and bad News from our Religious at Fo Kien. The Provincial Vicar [friar Varo] went out to assist some Christians; the Servant that went with him was taken, and by that means they discover'd the Father. He was apprehended, and when I left China had been above six months in Prison. Afterwards I saw Letters, giving an account that he was carry'd to Canton to join the rest, and that nothing further had been done against the Christians. I had some Comical Arguments with Father Gouvea; he was provoking, and said, 'That his Society had founded the Inquisition in Portugal; that our Inquisitions were much improv'd since they join'd with those of Portugal; That the University of Salamanca gain'd reputation by its fellowship with that of Coimbra; That in Spain there is no devotion to the most Blessed Sacrament,' and other such fopperies. The Portuguese are Men bred in one corner of the World,[1] who have seen nothing but Lisbon and Goa, and pretend to know everything, whereas they err grossly in things as plain as the Sun. This Old Man was insufferable, I always shun'd him, and when I could not, thought it wisest to hold my peace.[2]

19. During all that time the Fathers of the Society manag'd the Expence of the House for they were more in number, they had more Servants, the House had been theirs, and it was convenient for us, especially because they were able to supply us when we wanted, wherein they were very kind, and did it with a great deal of charity, tenderness, and affection, as I sometimes writ to the General of the Society and ours; and should not I and my Companions own it, the stones themselves would make it known. But it is not fit some impertinent Person should take a fancy to write into Europe, as they say it has hapned, that those Fathers of the Society bore the whole Expense, and that we and the Religious of

[1] An echo of Seneca's '*Cum hac persuasione vivendum est: non sum uni angulo natus: Patria mea totus hic mundus est*'.

[2] The main trouble between the two was nationalistic, for Gouveia was a patriotic Portuguese (ARSI, JapSin 162, f. 207). On other points, however, he and Navarrete, according to the latter, were in agreement, for Gouveia was doubtful about the propriety of some of the Rites, as well as about the Jesuits' style of living, and was critical of some of his colleagues; cf. his remark that though he had to give the official 'Approbation' to Intorcetta's book he did it 'bursting' (*T* 3, 79, 81, 132, 491, 499, 508; *C* 56, 107, 109, 300, 396, 633, 656, 665).

the Order of St Francis bore no part. I have no inclination to touch upon this particular, but it is fit the truth of the whole matter should be known, and I have the Accompts by me to this day. The Venerable Frier Dominick Coronado was some days in the Imperial City, he was taken out of Prison sick, and carry'd to the Church of the Fathers Magallanes and Bullo; his distemper increas'd, and eight or ten days afterwards God took him. I am assur'd he was attended with extraordinary care and diligence. I coming afterwards to that Church, Father Bullo gave me the account of what was expended in Medicines, Physicians, and the Funeral, and acquainted me the Deceas'd had given them a very fine large Looking-glass, valu'd at fifty Crowns Silver in our Church, of Lan Ki, besides a Piece of Silver Filigreen-work, valued at six or seven Crowns more. It was afterwards propos'd to erect a Tomb to him, after the manner of that Country, for the building of which I gave Father Bullo all the Silver he ask'd. This does not agree with what Father Grelon writ, that those of his Order had taken nothing for the Medicines bought for that sick Man. My two Companions, three Servants and I continued in the Imperial City from the 28th of June till the 13th of September. During this time, bating Fish, Flesh and Wine, the Emperor allow'd all our Expence, as well as theirs; so that we had Rice, Wood, Herbs, Oil, and that they call Teu Fu in abundance brought in to us; so that when we went away the Fathers of the Society that remain'd behind were stock'd for a great while with Rice, Wood, Oil and Vinegar. Nevertheless, I sent them forty Pieces of Eight, which they receiv'd five or six Months after, being carry'd 600 Leagues at our Expence. Towards the Journey to Canton I contributed thirty Crowns in Silver, of ten Ryals each. During the time of our Confinement we paid 35 Ryals Silver a head per Month. The Franciscan Frier Antony of St Mary paid at the same rate for himself. And when [the Chinese] Frier, Gregory Lo, of my Order, now Bishop of Basilea, set out from Canton to visit all the Christian Plantations of the Society, I supply'd him with fifty Crowns, Frier Antony with twenty two, and those Fathers with only sixteen, with which Money he spent above two years in the Service of the Society, without so much as a

Letter, or 'God reward you', from the Jesuit Superior.[1] I could write more, were I not asham'd to handle such things. I am very sure the Jesuit Fathers Fabre, Brancati, and Balat, would never mention these things. Certain I am we should not have spent the third part of this at our Churches. I would never take Pen in hand to write of such a Subject, were I not in a manner forced to it by the great Scrowls some Men have writ, perhaps trusting that they would not come to my knowledg.

20. We had often Discussions during our Confinement, which was what we ought to do, both to spend our time well, and to agree and settle what we were to do for the future, if it should happen we were restor'd to our Churches. In the second Tome I shall treat of these and other Disputations that have been held in that Mission, it being so material a point.

〈Friar Antony of Saint Mary, the Franciscan, died upon 13th May 1669 and before he died the following happened:[2] since the Fathers of the Company had regretted greatly the Treatise he had wrote about the Veneration of the Dead by the Chineses, Father Manoel Jorge came to me, for in all things I was on good Terms with friar Antony, and he inquir'd if the friar had given an explanation or reason for writing it. I told friar Antony this and he laught at it; and afterwards when I had administered to him the holy oil of Extreme Unction, he in the presence of all, gave them all thanks for the charity they had used towards him; and he added, 'as for what I have written, I confirm it for I hold it to be true.' Nothing more passed than that and all remained silent. I assisted him, I confess'd him several times for his Death. I was left with instructions for disposing his Bits of Things: I sent a Lamp on his behalf to the Chaplain of the Nuns of St Clare in Macao, and other little Trifles I sent to the Friar Guardian of the Franciscans; I writ to his Provincial in Manila, giving him an account of what had happn'd and asking him to send 200 pieces of Eight to the Fathers of the Society for the Expense they had had, apart

[1] But in Peking the Jesuits gave Lo a servant, a mule, and money for his travels (Rouleau, 'Siqueira', 31).

[2] For Santa María, one of the veteran friars of the China mission, see *SinFran* II, 317–606.

PLATE XV. A Chinese funeral

from my Expenses who had remained in charge of everything. And I carry'd out all he ordered; we said some Masses for his Soul and I kept his Spectacles with their little Tortoise Box, the which have serv'd me until this time. I was at the Burial which the Fathers arranged for him; it was most Solemn for all the Gentlemen of the Portuguese Embassy then in Canton also attended it. Now since friar Antony had seen how in the Funeral of the Jesuit Fathers Costa and Trigault those Tablets, or Tabernacles, used by the Heathen Chinese had been used, a thing he never lik'd, he had said, after receiving the Extreme Unction, 'Reverend Fathers, I beg you for the Love of God, do not use those Tablets in my Burial.' But when all was arranged for carrying out the Body we saw a Tablet upon an adorned Bier all set in order, and in front of this Tablet hung the Incense-Thurible from the Church so that the Bier on which the Cross was carry'd had no Thurible, but the other Bier had; I confess this caused me great Distress, but I kept Silent. Afterwards, the Secretary of the Ambassador [Pereira de Faria] said to me, that when he saw the Tablet being used he was all for returning to his House and not accompanying the Body to its Burial, for the Matter seem'd very bad to him. ['Ends', 44v–45r][1]⟩

[1] On the Canton episode see Appendix I below. The Tablets or Tabernacles referred to are the *p'aiwei* ('spirit-tablets') which were boards inscribed with the name of the deceased (shown at *L* in the illustration). When the character meaning 'Spirit' was added to this inscription it was believed that part of the spirit of the deceased entered the funeral tablet which was, consequently, venerated. Hence the friars and some Jesuits (e.g. Gouveia) regarded them as superstitious; other Jesuits (e.g. Brancati) did not believe they were. Later a compromise was attempted by inscribing the *p'aiwei* not with the character for 'Spirit' but with a Cross and the Articles of the Creed. Perhaps the 'Spirit' ideogram was omitted from Santa María's funeral tablet: in that case there would not, technically, be any superstition involved. There is discussion of the *p'aiwei* at *C* 396,486.

CHAPTER XV

THE ARTICLES OUR CHINESE ENEMY, WHO RAIS'D THE PERSECUTION, CHARG'D UPON OUR HOLY FAITH[1]

1. It is requisite that all Missioners and those who design to go over to those Countrys, should be well inform'd in these affairs, that they may be provided against all things that shall occur. That wicked Jang Kuang Sien, so he was call'd, in the year 1659 printed a Book in the Imperial City of Pe King, the Title of it amounts to this, *Take heed of false Prophets* (so I translated the Chinese Characters *Pi Sie Lun*); all there lik'd my Version, and to say the truth this is the genuine interpretation of those Words. In order to translate the said Book into our Language, and the second, which shall be inserted hereafter, we had join'd four Fathers of the Society, one of the Order of St Francis [Antonio de Santa María] and I, and we all agreed to this following sense of it.

(1) First Article: 'That Heaven has no other Principle but the Matter and Form, from which it naturally flow'd, without admitting any efficient Cause, distinct from the Heaven it self, to produce it.'

(2) 'That what we Missioners call the Lord of Heaven, is nothing else but one of the two parts which compose Heaven; which being so, it is not possible it should produce Heaven without the help of the co-part.'

(3) 'That if Jesus is God, how can we say he is Man? And if he is truly so, who govern'd the Universe from Heaven during the 33 years he was on Earth?'

(5) 'That from the beginning of the World till an Emperor living in these days, there have past millions of years.'

[1] The major portion of this chapter has been omitted here.

(6) 'That it is scandalous Christ should have no Father, since even brute Beasts have one.'

(7) 'That there is neither Heavenly Glory, nor Hell. That Heaven is nothing but the goods of this life; and Hell only its evils and sufferings.'

(13) 'That the visible Heaven is the beginning of all things, and there is no Lord above it, and therefore it ought to be ador'd as Lord.' (He handles this point at large in two places, and proves it out of their Confucius. Yet some Europeans would know more than the Chineses, of what relates to their own Sects.)

(14) 'That we call Heaven, God's Slave, whereas the Holy Chineses call their Emperor the Son of Heaven.'

(17) 'That we do not honour the Emperor, because he is the Son of a Slave, that is of Heaven.'

(18) 'That we do not honour our Parents [Ancestors], because Christ had no Father.'

(20) 'That any ordinary Man may be accounted King of the upper Region [Shang-ti], with more reason than Christ, who was crucify'd as a Malefactor.'

(23) 'That the Books of the Law of God do not treat of Christ's Passion, because it was shameful; but only of his Miracles, Resurrection and Ascending to Heaven.' (He speaks in this place of the Books of the antient Missioners, not of those who have writ for forty years last past. Father Emanuel Diaz writ very much concerning the Passion of our Lord.)

(27) 'That Father Mathew Ricci suppress'd the Passion and Death of Christ which he did to impose upon the People.' (It is plain that great Man had no such design.)

(28) 'That we give Christians Crosses in token of rebellion.'

(29) 'That we impose upon the Mandarines, and gain the good will of Mandarines with the Curiosities of Europe, more than the Truth of our Doctrine.' (Watches, Harpsicords, Looking-glasses, Prospective-glasses, Tweezers and other Presents, brought this Affront upon us.)

2. These are the principal Points he mentions, but adds much more, using a great deal of Rhetorick and Artifice, which is

sufficient to incline People who have no better Light, to believe it, dazzling their Understanding.

It is very plain to see that none of these Accusations concerns Dominicans, Franciscans, nor is there any mention of the King of Spain, America, or the Philippine Islands; so that People may look upon what they read of this nature, as mere fiction.

3. They had before put out a little Book, of which mention has been made, and at which our Enemy was enrag'd, who immediately printed another with this title, *Po Te I*, that is, 'as a faithful Subject I cannot forbear appearing and speaking the truth'.[1] Among the rest he said in it,

'That ours is a rebellious Law, and owns neither Parents nor Kings.'

'That there are so many People at Macao in order to raise a Rebellion; and that to this purpose we have such and such Churches in China, where Father Adam accepted the Office of a Mandarine, that he might disperse the Fathers throughout all the Provinces.'

'That we creep in and out of China, sneaking along in soft shoes, and no one knows our intention, so well-wrapped are they.'

'That by degrees we take Draughts of the fifteen Provinces, and inquire into the Number of Soldiers, Strength, &c.'[2]

4. Not one of all these Articles is particularly charg'd upon Franciscan, Dominican or Spaniard. He speaks against the Portugueses, and their City Macao; so that all Men will be satisfy'd that we Spaniards and Friars shar'd in the Persecution passively, and not actively; and that the Chineses bear no particular hatred to the Castilians, as some have written and given out.

5. Before I conclude this Chapter, I must in this place take

[1] Presumably a reference to a pamphlet published in 1663 by a convert, Li Tsu-po, claiming that the Chinese were a branch of the human family who had migrated from Judea; that originally they had worshipped God but this worship had been lost in the past and Father Ricci had revived this ancient faith (Hummel, II, 890). See also Rougemont, 135; 'Ends', f. 53r.

[2] 'When the Persecution began the Jesuit Fathers gathered up the copies of the "*Athlante*" of Father Martini that had been carry'd there, fearing, as well they might, that should one reach our Enemy, it would suffice to finish us all, for all the Provinces of the Empire were delineated therein' (*C* 34).

notice, that among the Chinese Sects, whereof I said something in the Second Treatise, there is one more which is convenient to be known.[1] The Founder of it was born at King Hoa in the Province of Fo Kien, his name was Ling, and it is about 136 Years since he laid the Foundation of it. The Temples of it are call'd 'Of the Three Legislators'.[2] This Sect unites and incorporates the three principal Sects of China, which are those of the Learned, the Idolators and the Sorcerers, whose Origin is in reality the same, tho they express it after several manners. The Learned Chineses agree to this. Father Longobardus proves it sufficiently and Father Riccio does not dissent, as shall be proved in its place.[3] On the Altars of this Sect are placed the Images of the three Legislators, Confucius, Lao Zu and Foe; this last as a Guest and Stranger is in the middle. Whilst I was in China a Christian of the Imperial City writ a Book, the Design whereof is to unite and incorporate our Holy Law with those three we have spoken of; they all tend to the same end, says he.[4]

[1] *T* 80–91, deals with the religions of China, beginning: 'Tho there be 3,000 Sects in China, yet all of them being deriv'd from and reducible to three, so all the Temples and other things pertaining to them, are reduced to the same Originals.'

[2] A reference to the saying 'the three religions are all one' (Richard, 353).

[3] For Longobardi see Pfister, 58–66, and Introduction, pp. xliv–v above.

[4] On this, see Introduction, p. lxix above.

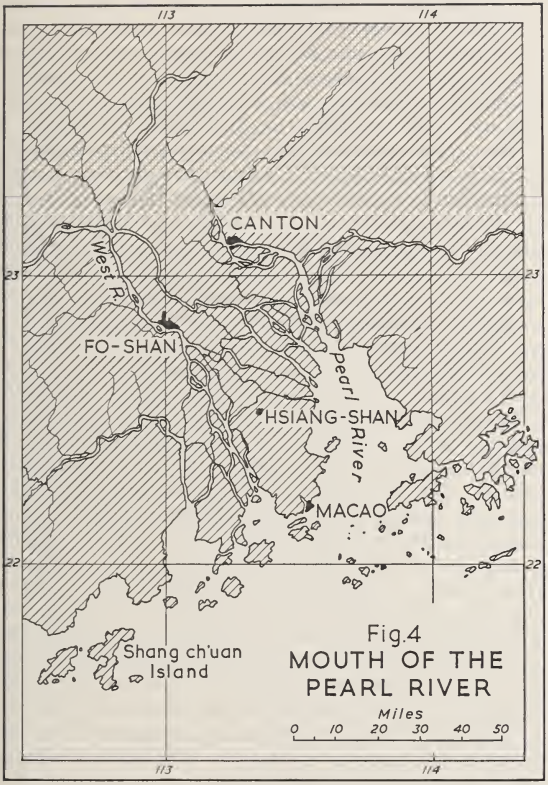
CHAPTER XVI

MY DEPARTURE FROM CANTON TO MACAO

1. The Fathers of the Society very well knew my Intention to go out of Canton, because I had made it known upon several occasions, and had writ about it to their Father Visitor, Luis de Gama, who was at Macao, giving him sufficient Reasons for my going to see him.[1] This my Resolution being known, the Fathers consulted whether my going away might be prejudicial or hurtful to them, as Father Lubeli told me. They and I both knew it would not, rather it was a gain to them, for they brought in another of their own Fathers in my place as I was afterwards inform'd, and I had my self urg'd before. What made me most eager to be gone was, that the Jesuit Father Intorceta had left for Rome the Year before, after the Disputations we had held; and there being many Points discussed in which I and others could not agree, I was troubled that I also could not go to Manila to confer with my own Superiors; for to manage this Business by Letter would be never-ending. On my Way I also design'd to discourse with the Jesuit Visitor upon the same Subject, and to propose a compromise about some of the Matters betwixt us. Frier Antony of St Mary, a Franciscan, desir'd the same. But afterwards at Macao I cool'd in this Design, on account of some Tales and Stories that I heard there.

Having consider'd the Business, which was not easy to carry out, tho there was no difficulty in beginning it, and having communicated my Design to Persons of undoubted Reputation, I set about my Aim and I made use of a Christian Chinese Merchant who was a not very considerable Person. The time being fix'd and

[1] The 'Visitor' is a general superior over a whole area; for this much criticized departure from the Canton detention, see Appendix I below.


113
114
CANTON
West R.
23
23
FO-SHAN
Pearl River
HSIANG-SHAN
MACAO
22
22
Shang ch'uan Island
Fig.4
MOUTH OF THE PEARL RIVER
Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
113
114

agreed upon, I went out very cunningly upon pretence of visiting the Ambassador [Saldanha] which was easily credited, because I often did so.[1] Being come to the Christian merchant's House, some Portuguese friends visited me that evening, but nothing was done that night. Before break of day we went into a Passage-boat, which sail'd at Sun rising with so fair a Wind, that by noon we had run ten Leagues [down the Pearl River]. We stop'd at a Village, where we lay that night tho very uncomfortably, for the Weather was very cold, and the Room was such that we could see the Stars through seventeen several places; there we staid for the Passage-boat till noon. All the Country is cut across with Rivers and Creeks, so that there seldom wants Boats.[2] We found a very great one, and full of People, which I liked little at that time. They took me in and the Commander immediately came out to receive me, put me into his Cabin, and made very much of me.

2. The Ebb came on, and our Vessel stuck upon the Owse so we were oblig'd to stay for the Flood and 'twas all Poison to my haste and impatience. We came to the Town Hiang Xan Ngao [Hsiang-shan] which is the Capital of the Island in which Macao stands. Abundance of Soldiers were about there, they all look'd at me, and I pass'd through between them more afraid than asham'd, till I got into an Inn.[3] The next day I did not travel for want of a Sedan chair and it was God's Mercy, for I must of necessity have met with the Mandarine, in charge of Macao, who came thither that day with an hundred Chairs and some Horses. Tho the days are so short in December, yet this seem'd to me a whole Year. The next day we set out by Land, I was easily known in that Country, so that I was not a little afraid, especially because all intercourse with Macao was cut off. The Christian was a bold Man, and attempted any thing tho never so rash and I follow'd his opinion, tho with some reluctancy. At the midway there was a Company of Soldiers in a House, and just opposite to them the Christian took up his resting-place; the same did the Chairmen who carry'd me, following his Example. I was much troubled at

[1] It was the night of 9 December 1669 ('Ends', f. 52).

[2] This is the estuary of the Pearl and West Rivers.

[3] The whole area was heavily guarded, especially after 1664 (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 77).

it, being in great fear but no body came to look into the Chair. At another place, where there were Inns, we eat, tho I did so within my Chair because the foregoing Year Father Intorceta had been recognised there, and I was afraid the same might happen to me. I went away to a Village, where I waited 2 days awaiting means to get over; during that time I scarce ate or slept. They put me into a Straw-loft to secure me against the Soldiers, where I lay in great fear and consternation. We resolv'd, due to my impatience, to travel two Leagues by night to another Village, to seek some conveniency there, but the Gates were shut, and a Guard within; we waited two hours to have them open'd; it was then the 17th of December; I was hot and weary with walking. We saw a light in a little House without the Gate, and I ask'd for some Water; I drank near a Pint, and wonder it did not kill me. Besides this we were in no small fear of the Tigers. We got into the Village, hir'd a close Sedan, went down by-ways to the Shore, that we might cross over from thence to Macao, which was about half a League by Sea. I saw Macao, heard the Bells, but was forced to turn back, because all about was full of Soldiers: I absolutely despair'd of getting over, and return'd to the Straw-loft. The Christian was not discourag'd in the least, tho he had not liked that days Journey which had been my contriving, and rash and foolish. That afternoon a Vessel that the Chinese had ingag'd the day before, came near to where we were: Because it had delayed its coming half a day beyond the time arranged I had thought the Infidels would not keep their words; that was the reason we had returned to the Straw-loft. We went aboard at night-fall, and rowing as still as might be we pass'd by the Guards that were along the shore. Then the wind came ahead, which put us into some fear and the little Boat took in Water; tho we laded it out continually, yet we could not keep our selves in safety. It pleased God we landed at nine of the Clock that night at the Captain General's Door. Because I would not disturb the Monastery, I went to a Friend's House, where they were amaz'd to see me. I came weary, thin, and hungry, and all was well when I found my self free and among Catholicks; this was on the 18th of December, on which day dy'd Brother Reyes [Manoel dos Reis] the famous Procurator of a Monstery in

that City, who had been the cause of great Troubles and Disorders there. No body lamented his Death, and as the Captain General [Alvaro da Silva] told me, he left above 50000 Ducats from Business outside the monastery.[1] A considerable History might be writ of this Man, perhaps we may give hints of some small Particulars later. The next day my Arrival was publickly known, by means of some Chineses who had seen me on the other side; several Judgments were made upon it, some for, some against me, and some indifferent; certain Priests [the Jesuits] particularly declar'd against me, which made me backward in communicating some Points concerning the Mission with them. I was visited by Persons of Note, and the Superiors of Religious Orders. ⟨I received two visits from the Very Reverend Father Visitor Luis de Gama. I brought Letters of the Portuguese Ambassador in Canton and from his Secretary; in these they confess'd they ow'd more to me alone than to all the rest. There are two Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions in Macao; that of the Bishop, from which as a Regular I am exempt; and that of the Holy Inquisition, of which I am also exempt for that I have never been delinquent in the Eyes of that Tribunal, thanks be to God; so in Macao I was neither hiding, nor hidden by my Order. [*C* 609]⟩ I contracted a particular Friendship with Don Alvaro de Sylva, Captain-General of those Forts, which prov'd very advantageous to me. He made much of me, fitted me out, found me convenient Shipping, and join'd me in a Mess with some worthy Friends of his, most excellent Persons.[2]

[1] Earlier friars (cf. Maggs Brothers Catalogue No. 515, *Bibliotheca Asiatica* (London, 1929), pt. III, 28, 33) describe the Jesuits' Macao College as having a general store attached to it in which the Fathers might be seen serving customers. Similar complaints were made from America and one writer, concentrating on their economic and commercial organization, compares the Jesuits to modern chain-store merchants (B. W. Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization* (Harrisburg, 1947), 585). On the other hand, many of these and similar complaints were based on a misunderstanding of the Jesuit position: see the explanation of how necessary trading was to their mission, in Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 169–72. In any case, private enterprise of this sort was not entirely a Jesuit monopoly and P. Carré (*The Travels of the Abbé Carré*, ed. C. Fawcett and R. Burn (London, 1947), 93, 213–14) met a Dominican smuggling jewels back to Europe from China.

[2] Other opinions about da Silva differed: reports in GOA (Monções, No. 36,

3. The Governor of the Bishoprick,[1] formerly my intimate Friend, and now a profess'd Enemy, doubtless for some good and holy Considerations, endeavour'd to do me a mischief with the Captain-General, putting him in mind of what others had quite forgot, which was, that through my means that City had been about submitting to Manila; which he altogether imputed to me; there he said I was a Traitor to the King of Portugal, and the Peace having not yet been proclaim'd there, it was enough to breed ill Blood.[2] The Captain-General answer'd admirably, saying, 'He is no Traitor, but a very loyal Subject to his King; to endeavour the delivering of this City to his King, was a good piece of Service. If I could deliver Badajoz to my King, would it be Treason, or a good Service done my King?'

The Diocesan Governour next us'd his Endeavours with the Government of the City not to let me go but they answer'd him with a Letter the Ambassador's Secretary had writ to them from Canton declaring that Macao City was very much oblig'd to me for the Service I had done the Ambassador and Embassy in Canton, which was very true.[3] And the Ambassador himself writ thence to the Captain-General of Macao to the same effect, so that Frier Emanuel de Angelis [dos Anjos] was very much put out.

My Design being only to go over to Manila, I agreed with some Sea-men of Siam, to whom I deliver'd Books, Clothes, some

ff. 286–7) dated December 1668 and December 1670, describe him as tyrannical and unscrupulous.

[1] The 'Governor of the Bishoprick', or Vicar-General, was a Portuguese Augustinian friar, Miguel dos Anjos. Once again the trouble was nationalistic; dos Anjos, as a Portuguese, sided with Jesuits rather than with a Castilian friar. But he was also angered by Navarrete's being protected by the Captain-General, for he and the Governor were unfriendly to each other (C. R. Boxer, *A Propósito dum livrinho xilográfico dos Jesuítas de Pequim (século XVIII)* (Macao, 1947)). Little is known of the bellicose dos Anjos who died in 1681 (*Documentação*, XII, 61).

[2] The Macao merchants had already been hit by the loss of the Japanese trade; the prospect of the closing of trade with the Philippines after the break with Spain at the Restoration alarmed the merchants still more; it was they chiefly who favoured surrender to Spain through the Governor of the Philippines.

[3] The Secretary to the Embassy was Bento Pereira de Faria who, unlike the majority of local Portuguese, was hostile to the Jesuits, perhaps because as a merchant he resented, and suffered from, their trading activities.

Baggage, and a few other Curiosities, for them to carry to Siam, whence I was to cross over to the Philippine Islands. But when they reached Malaca the Dutch would not consent to their going forward and so I have heard no more of those things since, and it is most likely that all I sent is lost.

4. On the 11th of January the Captain-General carry'd me aboard the Ship,[1] where though I thought my self free from impertinent People, I yet had a great deal to go through. One thing I was much surpriz'd at in Macao, and had it not been told me by one of the gravest Citizens I had not believ'd it. Vasco Barbosa de Melo, who is known to be honest, well born, and a good Christian, told me, that the foregoing Year 1668, some Persons [Jesuits] had published signed Certificates, that we Friers had ruin'd the Mission of China, and were the cause that Macao had no Trade or Commerce. As to the last Point, I do not concern my self with it, because it belongs not to me: let others look to it. Alexander VII, Clement IX, and X have issu'd their Bulls, repeating what Urban VIII order'd in his Bull of 1633, be it for these or those.

5. The manner of obtaining those Certificates, makes the thing yet more foul and criminal. Vasco Barbosa who attended the Ambassador [Saldanha] two Years in Canton, and knowing the background of this business perfectly well, asked the Judg who had sign'd those Certificates, 'How came you, Sir, to sign such a thing, when you so well knew the contrary?' He answer'd, 'Mr Vasco Barbosa, I was sick in Bed, and somewhat cast down; two priests, who shall be unnamed, came to me and said, "Sir, we bring you some Papers of small consequence; you must sign them," and I, Sir, sate up and sign'd without reading them for who would imagin that such Men should impose upon me.' (I bring God to witness, that what I have writ is true.) I then said to Vasco Barbosa, 'Sir, who was most to blame in this affair? The Gentleman who did not read what he sign'd, or they that tendred him the Papers, desiring him to sign them?' Doubtless the latter:

[1] Father Gama mentions the departure of this vessel, but makes no reference to Navarrete's boarding her ('Diary', published by J. F. Marques Pereira as 'Uma resurreição historica . . .' *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, II (1901), 756).

PLATE XVI. Canton in the seventeenth century

PLATE XVII. Macao in the seventeenth century

(1st) because they sin'd deliberately and designedly; (2nd) Because they sin'd maliciously; (3rd) They deceiv'd in a matter of consequence, and to the detriment of a third Person; (4th) In regard they were Priests; (5th) Because of the motive and end, which could be no other than worldly Honour and vain Glory; (6th) Because they were the efficient forcing cause that the Judg sin'd; (7th) Because of the scandal caused by such proceedings; and if the matter be further look'd into, other deformities will appear. The Layman may alledg many excuses, and the Reader may reflect on them, without my inserting of them here.

6. Knowing this case, I thought it requisite and necessary to prepare my self to make a defence against these allegations as is Natural and no doubt in many cases we are bound to it, 'lest Silence seem to imply guilt'. Besides, this allegation being prejudicial and dishonourable to a whole Religious Order [the Dominicans] the defence is more absolutely necessary.

7. For these reasons I obtain'd fourteen Certificates from the Clergy, Superiors of Orders, the Captain-General, and others of the principal Men of that City, who all upon Oath testify and declare, who in fact were the cause that the Missions of Japan, China, Tunquin, and other places in the East were lost. I had Duplicates made of the said Certificates and one parcel I later deliver'd to the Holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide, by order of Cardinal Ottoboni; another parcel I have by me, beside an authentick Copy taken at Rome. If any curious person pleases to read them, I will lend him them very freely.[1]

8. As for the Mission of China, I will write the matter of fact briefly, as all Men own'd it who were there when the Persecution began. When they told us the news of our Banishment in the Imperial City, Fr Gouvea said to Fr Canevari (I being by at the same time) 'Fr Matthew Ricci brought us into China by the Mathematicks, and Fr John Adam now banishes us by his.'

9. Fr Gouvea discoursing with me at Canton, told me, That the foreigners in his Society, who were in China, had ruin'd the

[1] The collection of such affidavits was part of the vigorous campaign conducted by the Jesuits and friars, as each sought to lay the blame for the persecutions upon the other's mistaken evangelizing technique.

Mission. Another time he explain'd himself further, and told me plainly, That their French Fathers had been the cause of it: And perhaps it was because of the division there was among them about Superiors, a little before the Storm arose. Father Humbertus Augeri talking with me concerning this Point, said: 'What have we French done? Our want of unity and mutual love, has ruin'd this Mission.' Father James Favre who was Superior at that time told me, 'When I was at Court I perceiv'd that when Father Adam dy'd, there would rise a great Persecution. I look'd upon it as certain, and so I writ to our Father General.' The Fathers Canavari and Balat imputed the Presecution to the Law of God's being imperfectly preach'd in that Kingdom. ⟨Father Canavari said in my Presence, 'In China our Faith is but glew'd on with Spittle.' [*C* 214, 432]⟩ Besides this all the Fathers of the Society several times said in my hearing, that the little Book the four Fathers who resided in the Imperial City, had publish'd, was the only cause of all that disaster.[1]

10. Our Chinese Enemy [Yang Kuang-hsien] in his Memorials quotes Father Adam, and charges him as has been writ [in Chapter XV]. He quotes Father Matthew Ricci his Books, and others of the Society. The books prohibited by the Rites Tribunal were all writ by Jesuits. The Emperor's Edict expressly names Father Adam, and Father Verbiest, and their two Companions [Fathers Buglio and Magalhães], and no other except Frier Antony of St Mary, and that was not because he was a Franciscan, but because his name was the first in the Paper and because he arrived in the Imperial City before any other of the Arrest'd Missioners. The Petition that was presented in our behalf was Father Adam's. The Dutch who went to Court after we came from thence, and knew all that had hapned in their Mercuries, mention none but those of the Society. The Mathematicks, whence the dispute sprung, were cultivated by the Society, not by us Dominicans or the Franciscans. The Presents that were offer'd

[1] Verbiest (333) commented: 'One could think F. Navarrete has very long ears seeing that he was able to hear from such a distance away! . . . But I think his tongue is still longer. . . .' Yet Navarrete's point is clear enough, though he is writing loosely: he means he heard this from all the Fathers in the Canton detention with him.

in China, with which our Enemy says we infatuated the Chineses, were given by those Fathers of the Society, not by us Friers who had scarce Bread to eat. Who but the Society has made use of the Chinese Learning in the Books of the Law of God, which our Enemy says we do to palliate our ill Doctrine?

11. Did not the first imprisoning begin with Father Adam and the other three in the Imperial City? It must be understood that of Eleven there were then of my Order in China, only four went up to Court. One [Coronado] fell sick to death in Prison, he was taken out from thence with leave from the Judges, and carry'd to the Church of Father Magallanes [Magalhães] who was then in it, where a few days after he gave up the Ghost.[1] We three came afterwards, the Judges never put any questions to us. Now how are we Friers brought into this Business, except to suffer? to lose all we had, and to leave our Christians expos'd to our Enemy?

12. It may be urg'd that those of the Society have since contriv'd to return to their Churches, and therefore do deserve much praise and honour. I say it is most just that they should have all praise and honour for that was an excellent action, and sutable to their zeal; yet it does not detract from the truth of what I have written. It is well known there were no Dominican, Franciscan, nor Augustinian Missioners in Tunquin, Cochinchina, and other parts, so that the loss of *those* Missions cannot be imputed to them. I shall say somewhat upon the point of Persecutions in the Second Tome. Leaving aside several Stories I heard at Macao during my stay there, and other matters that were given me in writing before I put to Sea, it will be convenient in this place to make one particular Chapter of the City Macao.

[1] For Jesuit kindness to the sick friar and efforts on his behalf, not detailed by Navarrete, see Verbiest, 325–30.

CHAPTER XVII

OF THE CITY MACAO, ITS SITUATION, STRENGTH, AND OTHER PARTICULARS

1. I have hitherto observ'd, and will for the future, what the Holy Ghost says, 'Let a true word go before thee in all works' (Eccles. 37, ch. 20), wherefore no Man need make a doubt of what I write, but ought rather to give entire credit to it. Cajetan says, 'For it is most reasonable, that all credit be given to those who have not only seen, but whose duty it is to testify to others what they have seen.' As I am a Religious, Priest, Apostolical Missioner and Preacher, tho unworthy in all respects, what I relate deserves and ought to be look'd upon as undoubted truth, especially in regard I am an eye-witness.

2. The Chineses from all antiquity had prohibited the admitting of Strangers into their Kingdom and Trading with them, tho for some years, Covetousness prevailing, they have sail'd to Japan, Manila, Siam, and other parts within the Straits of Sincapura, and of Governador in the Sea of Malaca, as I have observ'd before: but all this has always been an infringement of their antient Law, the Mandarines of the Coast conniving at it for their private gain.[1] This is the reason why when the Portugueses began to sail those Seas and to trade with China they had no safe Port there nor any way to secure one. They were some years in the Island Xan Choang, where St Francis Xaverius dy'd; some years they went to the Province of Fo Kien, another while to the City Ning Po in the Province of Che Kiang, whence they were

[1] Many of the troubles between Macao and Peking were the result of scheming and self-interest on the part of the mandarins at Canton, who made a handsome profit out of the official trade-post at Macao; other trading, e.g. with Japan and Java, was carried on by Fukienese smugglers. It is this last that Navarrete accuses the mandarins of conniving at.

twice expel'd, and the second time ill treated. They attempted the place where Macao now stands, but without success; they return'd, and the Mandarines of Canton sending advice to the Emperor, he order'd they should remain there undisturb'd, paying Tribute and Customs for their Merchandize. Thus they settled there, and had continued till my time the term of 130 years. Many of the Inhabitants of Macao say that place was given them because having undertaken the task they were then successful in expelling thence certain Robbers, who did much harm to the neighbouring Chineses; and hence they infer that that Place is their own. The Chineses, however, disown this claim and so does the Tartar who is now Lord of China.[1] And if the Grant was upon condition they should pay Tribute and Custom for Merchandize, as they have always done, how are they owners there? At best they are like the Chineses, among whom no Man is absolute Master of a foot of Land.

3. The place is a little neck of Land running off from the Island and so small, that including all within the Wall the Chineses have there, it will not make a League in circumference. In this small compass there are Ascents and Descents, Hills and Dales, and all is but Rocks and Sand. Here the Merchants began to build: The first Church and Monastery built there was of our Order, of the Invocation of our Lady of the Rosary, and the Portugueses still preserve it.[2] Afterwards there went thither Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and of the Orders of St Francis and St Augustin. Some Years after they founded a Convent of St Clare, and carry'd Nuns to it from that of St Clare in Manila: The Foundation was made without his Majesty's leave and he resented it when it came to his ears; and not without reason, for a Country of Infidels, and so small a footing is not proper for Nuns. That Convent has of late Years been a great trouble to the City. Before I proceed any further, I will here set down what was told me by the Licentiate Cadenas, a grave Priest of that City. When the Tartars conquer'd

[1] For the establishment of Macao, see Boxer, *South China*, xxxv–xxxvii; and for 'fact and fancy in the history of Macao', see Boxer, *Fidalgos*.

[2] For the history of the Dominicans in Macao see J. M. Braga, 'A Igreja de S. Domingos e os dominicanos em Macau', *BEM*, XXXVI (1939), 749–74.

China, those Nuns fearing lest they might also come over into Macao, and some disaster might befal them, petition'd the City to send them to some other place. Having weigh'd and consider'd the Matter, they answer'd, 'That the Reverend Sisters need not be in care, for if any thing hap'ned, they would presently repair to their Convent with a couple of Barrels of Gunpowder, and blow them all up, which would deliver them from any ill Designs of the Tartars.' An excellent Method of comforting the poor afflicted Creatures![1]

4. There are in the City five Monasteries, three Parish-Churches, the House and Church of the Misericordia, the Hospital of St Lazarus, and Jesuit Seminary; one great Fort, and seven little ones.[2] The Plan is very bad, because it was built by piecemeal. It was afterwards made a Bishop's See; the first Bishop was of my Order, and till my time no other Proprietor had been consecrated to it.[3] It shall be argued in another place, whether that Lord-Bishop has a Spiritual Jurisdiction over all China, or not; as also whether Tunquin and Cochinchina belong to him. At present it is certain they do not, for his Holiness has divided China into three Bishopricks, under whom are Tunquin, Cochinchina, and the Island Hermosa. And tho the Portuguese Resident at Rome oppos'd it, he could not prevail.

5. That City throve so much with the Trade of Japan and Manila,

[1] For an account of the establishment in Manila of the parent-house of these Franciscan nuns, see Blair, XXII, 104–7; XXXV, 294–9 and the studies by L. Pérez and F. Lejarza in *Archivo Ibero-americano*, XVIII (1922), 225–43; XVI (ns), (1956), 42–60. The nuns in Macao were briskly dismissed by Hamilton (II, 116) as 'devout Ladies, out of Conceit with the Troubles and Cares of the World'. If Navarrete is right, they had not yet escaped. After Portugal regained her independence from Spain (1640), the Spanish left Macao for Manila; the official order regarding the nuns' transportation to Manila, and commanding all proper treatment for them, is at GOA, Livro dos Regimentos e Instruções, No. 4, ff. 67–8, dated 6 May 1643. For their subsequent history see A. Meersman, 'The chapter-lists of the Madre de Deus Province in India, 1569–1790', *Studia*, No. VI (1960), 165.

[2] On the Misericordia, 'one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia', see Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 217–20, and also J. C. Soares, *Macau e a Assistência; panorama médico-social* (Lisbon, 1950).

[3] Macao was raised to a Bishopric by Gregory XIII (*Super specula militantis Ecclesiae*) on 23 January 1576. But the question who was the first Bishop is not as clear as Navarrete suggests. The early history of the diocese is both confused and tempestuous (M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua diocese* (Macao, 1940), II, 55 ff.).

that it grew vastly rich, but never would vie with Manila, nor is there any comparison between the two Citys for all their Analogies. I find as much difference in all respects, betwixt them, as is betwixt Madrid and Vallecas (much the same as between London and Hammersmith*) and somewhat more, for the People of Manila are free, and those of Macao slaves [to the Chinese].

6. I take it for granted, that what Emanuel Leal de Fonseca, Knight of the Order of Christ, said in my hearing, upon Maunday Thursday [1659] at night, in our Monastery of Macao, is certainly true, 'That the [Spanish] Governor of Manila had more Employments to give than the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, even before the Dutch had taken so much from them.'[1] It is also certain that his Majesty has more Lands and Subjects in the Philippine Islands, than the Portugueses had sixty Years ago throughout all India. These things were unquestionable.

7. The Trade of Japan failing, Macao began to decay; and that of Manila ceasing, it almost fell to the ground. I was told so in that City, and it was visible in the Wants they endur'd. The Monasteries which some Years before maintain'd 24 Religious, in my time with much difficulty and in poverty maintain'd three. So the two Trades of Japan and Manila being at an end, they took up with Sandal of Timor, Ateca of Siam, Rosamulla, Rota and such-like Commodities, which the Chineses bought, and they took Silks, Calicoes, and other Merchandize in exchange, which they sold at Siam and Macasar to the Spaniards by a third hand.[2]

8. Macao ever paid Ground-rent for the Houses and Churches to the Chinese, and Anchorage for Shipping. As soon as any Ship or Pink comes into the Harbour, a Mandarine presently comes from the Metropolis, and takes the Gage of it, and receives the Duty according to his computation of the Burden.[3] When the

[1] The Dominican priory of Macao seems to have been a centre of pro-Castilian tendencies (Braga, 755–7).

[2] Ateca' is teak; 'Rosamulla' (*anglicè*, Rose-mallows) is liquid Storax (*Hobson-Jobson*, 770; Hamilton, II, 122). 'Rota' is rattan (Dalgado, II, 260; and cf. Hamilton, II, 114; 'They make Bowls, Cups, and Tables of Rottans, and cover them very neatly with Lack of divers Colours, and gild them').

[3] 'The Forts are governed by a Captain-general, and the City by a Burgher, called the Procuradore, but, in Reality, both are governed by a Chinese Mandareen,

Ship goes out, he takes the dimensions again, and receives fresh Custom. Every Year their Measures alter. Is this any thing like being absolute Masters of that Place? The Portuguese have lost what territories they had, and would appropriate to themselves what is none of their own.

9. They complain and alledg in Canton, (nay the Ambassador Emanuel de Saldanha said to my face), that our King employ'd all his Strength in the West-Indies, and suffer'd the East to decline, because it belong'd to Portugal. But I confuted him with my answer, and said, first, If the King of Spain was Lord of Both Indies, and his Grandeur consisted in maintaining his Dominion from East to West, why should he suffer that to decline which he possess'd as absolute Lord and Master? For that would be lessening his own Greatness, which he so much valu'd.

10. Secondly, When Don John de Sylva was Governor of the Philippine Islands, [1609–16] his Majesty order'd all the Force of Manila and Goa should rendezvous at Malaca, and that the Governor and Viceroy should go aboard in Person, in order to fall upon Jacatra, and drive the Dutch quite out of India [1616]. Governor de Sylva came with five mighty Ships (and it is well known that one of these Manila Ships can defeat 5 or 6 European Ships); he brought also the best Men in the Islands, Ammunition, Provisions, and all Necessaries. He arriv'd at Malaca, where he awaited the Viceroy of Goa two Years, but he is not come yet! Don John de Sylva went away sad and troubled to Siam, where he was forced to fight furiously some Ships of the Country and Japan. After which he dy'd for grief of the disappointment: many more dy'd and the rest returned to Manila, having been at vast Expence. All that ever spoke of this Subject say, that if his Majesty's Orders had been obey'd, the Dutch had infallibly been ruin'd and expell'd India.[1]

11. Thirdly, About the Year 1640, one Meneses, a Gentleman of Goa came to Macao, in his way to Japan, whither he was going Ambassador. He proceeded no further, because of the ill success

who resides about a League out of the City, at a Place called Casa Branca' (Hamilton, II, 116).

[1] Costa (333–4) gives a more coherent version of this affair.

of another Embassy the Year before. This Gentleman talking with Frier Antony of St. Mary, a Franciscan, of the Power of the Dutch in India, told him, that our King had writ into India, to acquaint them that if they thought fit he would send them a strong Fleet, and in it Don Fadrique of Toledo, as Viceroy of Goa, Malaca, and Manila, who would scour the Sea, and make it safe to them to sail from East to West. 'We Portuguese would not accept of what was offer'd for our good,' said Meneses, 'and that was the reason we are in such a poor condition.' And when told this the Ambassador Emanuel de Saldanha answer'd me, 'I did not know all that.'

12. While in Canton upon Midsummer day I was invited with a Portuguese, Father Gouvea, and two others of the Society to visit the Ambassador. The said Father Gouvea maliciously insinuating, That the Spanish King could not recover Brasil, and their new King [Afonso VI] had done it: The Ambassador said, 'I was a Soldier in that mighty, tho unfortunate, Fleet King Philip the Fourth sent out for that purpose. The Portuguese General was Dom Fernao de Mascarenhas, Count de la Torre, who was in fault that it was not recover'd.[1] The Spanish Commander was to keep the Sea, the Count to act ashore, and to that purpose had 13000 chosen Men. The Spanish General offer'd him 3000 Musquetiers of his Men; he several times desir'd the Count to land, and he would secure the Sea, but the Count never durst.' 'It was his fault,' concluded the Ambassador, 'that Brasil was not then recover'd.' I was very well pleas'd to hear it, and what is it now they complain of? I often heard it said, that Malaca was lost during our King's Government in the Year 1630. Bento Pereira de Faria the Ambassador's Secretary, said before all the Portugueses then at Canton who were in that Error, 'It is not so Fathers, for the Revolt of Portugal was in December 1640, and Malacca was lost the following Year.' I was well pleas'd and consol'd at the Answer.

13. Discoursing about the loss of Mascate, Emanuel de Fonseca

[1] Torre's 'sole qualifications appear to have been his aristocratic birth and the fact that nobody else wanted the post' (C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil* (Oxford, 1957), 89).

a worthy Portuguese, told me at Canton, That it had been lost because contrary to our King's Orders, they had tolerated a Synagogue of Jews there. Avarice made them permit those infamous People there.[1]

14. At Diu, said the same Man, they allow'd of a Moorish Mosque on the same account, and contrary to his Majesty's Commands. Speaking of the Loss of Ceilon [1658] a bare-footed Franciscan gave the Account I set down in another Chapter. I afterwards heard it over again, That it was well it was lost, for otherwise Fire must needs have fallen from Heaven, and consumed it all.

15. Talking about some Towns along the Coast, Father Torrente, one of the Jesuits in Canton, said, the Portuguese Commanders us'd horrid Injustice towards the Natives.

16. Upon discourse of the losing of Ormuz the Jesuit Father Ferrari related, That he being at Malaca, heard some who had been present at the Action, and among them the Enemy's Admiral, say, 'If the Portugueses the day after the Fight had come upon us again, they had certainly catch'd us all, for we were undone but instead they went off, and left us Conquerors and possess'd of all.'[2]

17. The Portuguese Jesuit Father Antony Gouvea talking at Canton of the loss of India, said, God had taken it from them for two Reasons; one was, the inhumane usage of the Natives, especially by the Portuguese Women, towards the Black Women, and the other for their Lust.

18. These and such-like things friar de Angelis might have inserted in his General History; what the Spaniards did in America we know and abhor. It is unreasonable to see the Faults of others, and be blind to our own.

19. We being altogether at Canton, there was some discourse with the Ambassador's Gentlemen concerning the loss of Cochin [1663]. The Portuguese Fathers of the Society imputed it to ill

[1] Muscat, the centre of Portuguese power in the Persian Gulf after the loss of Ormus, was lost in January 1650.

[2] Ormus was captured (1622) by English ships, commanded by Captains Blyth and Weddell (*EF, 1622–3*, vii ff.), acting in conjunction with a Persian army.

Fortune, and to the Natives assisting the Dutch. A Layman who was by took up the business, and said, 'Alas, Fathers, we Portugueses are the most barbarous People in the World, we have neither Sense, Reason, nor Government.' He went on with much more to this purpose, and concluded, 'They overcame, slew, and took that Country from us, as from base and mean People. The Society was much blam'd for all the other Religious Orders spent all they had to relieve the Soldiers and Townsmen, but the Society not one grain of Rice. The Dutch entred the place, and took all they had.'

20. We talk'd of the miserable condition Macao was in of late Years (I design'd this City for the subject Matter of this Chapter; but because one thing draws on another, and all tends to make known what I saw and heard in those parts, it is convenient to write all) the Ambassador's Secretary said to Father Gouvea, 'Father, the truth of it is, that Brother [Manoel dos] Reyes, and his Chinese Friend Li Pe Ming, are the cause of the ruin of Macao.' He had not a word to answer. All this has been inserted here, to prove the Portuguese have no reason to complain, that our [Spanish] king was the cause of their losing India.

21. The miserable State and wretched Condition the Portugueses do now, and have liv'd for some Years in those parts, might make them sensible, if Prejudice did not blind them, that their own Sins, and not those of others, have brought all these Misfortunes upon them. They liv'd some Years at Macasar, in great subjection to the Mahometans, neither the Laity nor Clergy had the least Authority, so the Governor of the Bishoprick of Malaca who resided there told me, his name was Paul d'Acosta. Upon Maunday Thursday [1658], when I was in the Church [in Macassar], a Company of Moors came into the Church, and went up the Sepulcher to see what was in the Monstrance, no body stirring to oppose them. ⟨There being present the Governor of the Bishoprick, the Parish Priest, Prelates, and other Portugueses, including Francisco de Vieira, of the Order of Christ, it did not become me to set up to oppose such disrespect. [*C* 627]⟩

When they search'd for any Criminal, the Sumbane sent five or six thousand Moors, who look'd into the privatest Closet, without

sparing any place. They had always to watch at night to secure themselves against the Moors, who stole all they had. They told me above 4,000 Christians had turn'd Mahometans in that Country. When expel'd thence by the Dutch, some of them went over to Camboxa, submitting themselves to such another King, others to Siam, where they live in ill repute, and despis'd by the Natives and Chineses that are there. Some would fain get away from thence, but are not suffered by the King, who says, they are his Slaves; and the reason is, because some Portugueses have borrow'd Mony of the King to trade, and pawn'd their Bodys for it. The King easily lent it them, and it is his Maxim, 'That all who in that manner receive his Mony, are his Slaves, and have not the least Liberty left them.'

22. Those Portuguese who liv'd in Cochinchina and Tunquin were expel'd thence. In the Year 1667, this which I shall now relate happen'd in Cochinchina: The Women there being too free and immodest, as soon as any Ship arrives, they presently go aboard to invite the Men; nay, they even make it an Article of Marriage with their own Countrymen, that when Ships come in, they shall be left to their own Will, and have liberty to do what they please. This I was told, and Father Macret who had been a Missioner there affirm'd it to me to be true.[1] A Vessel from Macao came to that Kingdom, and during its stay there, the Portugueses had so openly to do with those Infidel Harlots, that when they were ready to sail, the Women complain'd to the King, that they did not pay them what they ow'd them for the use of their Bodys. So the King order'd the Vessel should not stir till that Debt was paid. A rare Example given by Christians, and a great help to the conversion of those Infidels! Another time they were so lewd in that Kingdom, that one about the King said to him, 'Sir, we know not how to deal with these People, the Dutch are satisfy'd with one Woman, but the People of Macao are not satisfy'd with many.' Frier de Angelis should note these Virtues of his Countrymen.[2]

[1] There seems no other authority for the statement that Macret was in Cochin-China; see Pfister, 368.

[2] Even discounting Navarrete's nationalistic bias, 'everyone blamed the Portuguese as bringing down the tone of moral life in any place' (S. Arasaratnam, 'Some

23. Whilst the Government was in the [Ming] Chineses the People of Macao own'd themselves their Subjects but now the Tartars rule and so they are, and do confess themselves to be their Subjects. When the City has any business, they go in a Body with Rods in their hands to the Mandarine who resides a League from thence and they petition him on their Knees. The Mandarine in his Answer writes thus: 'This barbarous and brutal People desires such and such a thing, let it be granted,' or 'refus'd them'. Thus they return in great state to their City, and their Fidalgos or Noblemen with the Badg of the Knighthood of the Order of Christ hanging at their Breasts, have gone upon these Errands; and I know one there to this day of the same rank, who was carry'd to Canton, with two Chains about his neck. He was put into Prison, and got off for 6000 Ducats in Silver. If their King knew these things, it is almost incredible that he should allow of them.[1]

24. Ever since the Tartars made the People retire from the Sea-coast up the Inland, they began to use rigor with Macao. At a quarter of a League distance from that City, where the narrow part of that neck of Land is, the Chineses many years ago built a Wall from Sea to Sea, in the middle of it is a Gate with a Tower over it, where there is always a Guard so that the People of Macao may not pass across, nor the Chineses to them.[2] The Chinese

Aspects . . .', *Tamil Culture*, VII (1958), 14), and many other travellers came to the same conclusion: Manucci (IV, 90) heard in Goa that the Portuguese were a 'small nation of madmen and troublesome fellows' and himself adds 'It seems to me he was largely right.' Carré (*passim*) complains of Portuguese 'arrogance, decadence, slothfulness, dissolute lives, meanness, tyranny, jealousy', etc. Tavernier (I, 151–2) complains that the Portuguese were 'no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope than they all become Gentlemen and add Dom to their names and as they change their status so also they change their nature'. Manucci (III, 134) echoes this. See also the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1907–9), XII, 252 ff.

[1] This is borne out by Hamilton's experience at Macao (II, 118); in the interests of trade the merchants were ready to submit but others were sometimes for resisting (cf. the attitude of the fire-eating Vicar-General of Macao, friar Dos Anjos, as described in Gama's *Diary*, I, 113).

[2] The 'neck of Land' was a sandbank called the 'Stem of the Water-Lily'; across this the 'Kuan-cha' wall was built and the Ch'ien-shan chai fortress erected at Ch'ien-shan (Casa Branca). After 1664 the garrison was raised to 2,000 soldiers and a strict watch maintained over the passage to Macao (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 77). A day-to-day account of the situation inside the blockaded city is given in Gama's *Diary*. See also Rouleau, 'Siqueira', 28 ff.

have sometimes had their liberty, but the Portugueses were never permitted to go up the Country. Of late Years the Gate was shut; at first they open'd it every five days, when the Portugueses bought Provisions; afterwards it grew stricter, and was only open'd twice a Month. Then the rich, which were but very few, could buy a Fortnights Store; the Poor perish'd, and many have starv'd. Then Orders came again that it should be open'd every five days and the Chineses sell them Provisions at what rate they please.

25. The Chineses have always liv'd in Macao, they exercise Mechanick Trades, and are in the nature of Factors to the Citizens. They have often gone away with all their Trust. Sometimes the Chinese Government has obliged them to depart Macao, which has much ruin'd that City because many Inhabitants and some Monasteries have nothing of their own, but a few little Houses that the Chineses live in and when they were gone they lost the Rent of them.

26. It would take up much time and paper to write but a small Epitome of the Broils, Uproars, Quarrels and Extravagancies there have been at Macao.[1] Among other things ⟨a few years ago the Jesuit Fathers and a large number of armed laymen, went with Fire-arms against our Dominican Monastery there; our Friers closed it and to defend themselves they placed the Blessed Sacrament in a Window of the Choir overlooking the Plaza. When they saw this the armed attackers said, 'Genuflect to the Blessed Sacrament, and Fire upon the Monastery,' and in this wise they fired on that Convent, and 'tis certain the Religious therein had dy'd, had they not secur'd themselves. [*C* 473–4][2]⟩

[1] It is hardly surprising that Navarrete's normally fluent pen flinched before this task, for Macao seems to have been in an almost perpetual state of anarchy. The English Factor's report of 1649 was not unique: 'the Portugalls in Maccaw . . . having lately murthered their Captaine Generall . . . and Maccaw itselfe soe distracted amongst themselves that they are dailie spilling one anothers blood' (Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 154). See also A. Marques Pereira, *Ephemerides Commemorativas da historia de Macau* (Macao, 1868), 98–9.

[2] This episode in the history of the Church Militant took place in 1623 and the quarrel arose when the Jesuits refused to recognize the Dominican Vicar-General António do Rosario. It is not certain if the priory was actually bombarded. There is an account in GOA, Ordens Regias No. 3, ff. 295–300; see also Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 97, and Teixeira, II, 103–4.

Among other things our Enemy [Yang Kuang-hsien] alledg'd in his Memorials to the Emperor, one was that Father Adam had 30,000 Men conceal'd at Macao to invade China. No doubt but it was a great folly. He added, that some years before the City had rais'd Walls, which were demolish'd by the Emperor's Command. This was true. In another Memorial, he accus'd us, that the Europeans resorting to Japan, had attempted to usurp that Kingdom, for which many were punish'd, and the rest banish'd; and that we had possessed our selves of the Philippine Islands. But never any particular King in Europe was mention'd; nor was there any naming of Religious Orders, or Religious. They always made use of the general name of Europe and Europeans.

27. The two [Chinese] Councils of Rites and War, put in a Memorial [to the Emperor] advising it was convenient the People of Macao should return to their own Country. The Government answer'd in the Emperor's name, That since they had liv'd there so many Years, it was not convenient to send them away, but that they should be brought into the Metropolis, for as much as their own Subjects had been drawn from the Sea-coast to the Inland. This was the beginning of much debate and confusion. The [Canton] Mandarines made great Profit from the Inhabitants of Macao, and would not have them change their habitation. At the Court they insisted on what has been said, and order'd a place should be assign'd them to live in. One was appointed near the River of Canton, the worst that possibly could be found. Notice was given to Macao, the City divided into two Factions. The Natives and Mungrels were for going, the Portugueses against it. The Supreme Government beset them by Sea, order'd their Ships to be burnt, accordingly ten were burnt before their Faces, and they seiz'd the Goods seven of them had brought the foregoing Year.

28. We at Canton, and they at Macao, were in great confusion, things growing worse and worse every day.[1] The City of Macao promis'd the Supreme Governour of Canton 20000 Ducats, if he

[1] For an account of the state of Macao at this time, see Boxer, *Azia Sinica*, II, 86–92, and Gama.

could prevail that they might continue in their City. Self-Interest mov'd him to use all his Power to obtain it, and he obtain'd leave for them to stay, but that they should not trade at Sea. The Governour then demanded the promis'd Money but they answer'd they would pay it if he got them leave to trade. This inrag'd the Governour, who became a very Tiger and now endeavour'd to do them all the mischief he could. He shut up the Gate in the Wall, allowing it to be open'd but twice a Month. It pleas'd God, or rather it was his permission, that the Governour, having been at variance with the Petty King, hang'd himself the 9th of January 1668, upon which Macao recover'd some hopes of bettering its condition.[1] Meantime in Canton the business of the Ambassador [Saldanha] was at a stand: he was full of trouble, especially because he had brought but 2800 Pieces of Eight with him, and had above ninety Persons to maintain out of it. Macao could assist him but little, and afterwards excus'd it self from even that. All men complain'd of the Society [of Jesus] which had advis'd and project'd that Embassy. True it is, that this Complaint being made before me to those that were in Canton, Fr John Dominick Gabiani a Piemontese answer'd; 'Gentlemen, not all the Society had a hand in this Embassy, only some particular Persons had; you are not therefore to condemn the whole Society.' Pereira, the Secretary, who was all fire, reply'd, 'We do not blame the Society in Rome, France and Madrid, but that in China. Your Reverences procur'd this Embassy, as also that Macao should bear the charge of it, the which has ruin'd us; it is for this therefore that the Complaint is made here, and not before the Fathers in Europe.' One of the greatest griefs the Portugueses had, was to see and hear how they us'd their Ambassador. They call'd him 'a Mandarine, that was going to pay Tribute and do homage on the part of the Petty King of Portugal'. When he went up to the Imperial City, there was a Flag or Banner upon his Boat, with two large Characters on it, which according to our way of speaking signify'd, 'This

[1] Lu Hsing-tsu, Viceroy of Liang-kuang, hanged himself fearing punishment after having been denounced for cruelty by the 'Prince who Pacifies the South', Shang K'o-hsi, (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 78). Navarrete gives more detail at *T* 77; see also Gama, II, 748, and cf. p.cxiv above.

Man comes to do Homage."[1] All Ambassadors that go to China must bear with this, or they will not be admitted.

29. I write what follows for Fryar Emanuel de Angelis: The vilest, basest, and most infamous action that has been heard of in the World, was done at Macao. The Revolt of Portugal [against Spain, 1640] being known there, (I will not insert in this place what Father Gouvea told me to prove and evince, that his Jesuit Brethren brought about this deed—for I allow it is a certainty and agreed among them, as by many others, although the Governor of the Bishoprick of Macao [dos Anjos] would attribute that action to his own [Augustinian] Order), they painted a Picture of our King [Philip IV] on the Gallows, and their own King [John IV] as Hangman, a-hanging of him, and this Picture was expos'd in a publick place of the City of Macao.[2] Some mislik'd it, others were asham'd of it, as I suppose, because of the dishonourable Employment they had given their own King in that Picture; so it was taken away and hid. I had made many reflections upon this Passage, which at present I lay aside, but I must observe that in China the Gallows is for Noble and Great Men, and base People are Beheaded, just contrary to what is practis'd in Europe. To be Hangman is the vilest thing that is throughout the world. The Chineses are in the right in calling the People of Macao barbarous and brutal and this action alone is enough to entitle them to it. I take it that some Mungrels were the Authors of the deed and not others, whom I have heard talk of our affairs with all reverence. What the People of Macao did in Japan is well known, and they ingenuously confess it; and they own'd it to me in that City, and Fr Gouvea told it me at Canton: it was, that till the Ships return'd, they publickly and without any shame keep common Women in their Houses. A fine help towards the Conversion of those People! Father Torrente told me they did the same at Tunquin.

[1] The two characters are identified (Fu, 'Two Embassies', 83) as *ch'ao-kung* (to pay homage and present tribute) or as *kung-shih* (tributary envoy).

[2] There is some truth in Gouveia's claim that the Jesuits were behind the revolt of 1640 (Rodrigues, *História*, III, pt. i, 350–2; A. Seyner, *Historia del levantamiento de Portugal* (Saragossa, 1644), 37, 41, 222, 224). For the Jesuits' pro-Portuguese attitude in Macao at the time of the Restoration, see F. Rodrigues, SJ, 'A Aclamação de D. João IV em Macau; Patriotismo e Traição', *Broteria*, XXXVIII (1944), 6–14.

30. But a little before I came to Macao the Governour of the Diocese had committed to Prison a Woman for living in open sin with a Tartar Soldier; the Soldier with others of his Companions came to the Goal at Noon-day, broke it open, and carry'd away the Woman, no Man daring to open his Mouth. About the same time a Maiden Daughter to one of the principal Inhabitants of that City, run away into China with an Infidel. Of late years many Women expos'd their Bodies to Infidels for Bread. The Governour banish'd sixty of them and upon the third day their Ship was cast away, and not one of the Women escap'd.

31. Many base Murders have been committed in that City. Some years ago a great many arm'd Portuguese assaulted the House of the Captain-General [Sebastião Lobo] and he hid himself under the Stairs, but they found him and stuck him in several places.[1] After this an ordinary Fellow with a Black murder'd the Town-Mayor. Upon another occasion a Man flying from his Enemy betook himself into our Church, and stood betwixt the Altar and the Priest that sung High Mass and tho it was just after the Consecration yet his Enemy pursu'd, and murder'd him in that place. In my time there was a dismal enough murder and soon afterwards at Noon-day the Curate of the great Church was murder'd. About six or seven years since a Portuguese kill'd the Curate that their Nation had at Siam. The Portuguese Curate of Macasar was very familiar with the Dutch and told them he had two Daughters at home, and that the Governour, [Diocesan Vicar-General] had one. Yet these People think God should not punish them! Excepting Goa and the Northern parts, which is nothing, they have not one foot of Ground in all India, but every where are subject to Gentiles, Mahometans, or Hereticks, and by them crush'd, contemn'd and despis'd. 'Kingdoms,' says St Thomas, 'are also lost through Pride.' Who is ignorant how guilty the Portuguese Nation was of that Sin?

32. Thus Macao may be sufficiently known, and several Particulars relating to that City and other parts. We may say with St Augustine that all is, and has been a great mercy of God: 'It is a

[1] Sebastião Lobo was suspected of partiality towards Spain (Concepción, VI, 159).

mercy if God scourges so that he may correct; if he delivers from sin through tribulation; if he permits Hypocrites and Tyrants to reign. For God does all these things in his mercy, being desirous to give us life everlasting.' The Tartars entring China to afflict those Gentiles, and distress Macao; the Dutch possessing themselves of India; and other accidents we have seen, are all the mercy of God, and for our good, if we our selves will with patience, humility and submission, make our advantage of what his Divine Majesty ordains and disposes.

33. To conclude this Chapter I will add certain 'Revelations', as they call them, in great vogue at Macao, and other parts of India. I Myself do not look upon them as Revelations, nor can I find any ground or reason to allow them the name. These 'Revelations' are pretended to be made to Brother Peter de Bustos at Malaca, about the years 1640 and 1642.[1] (1) Four years before the revolt of Portugal, say they, he foretold it almost in the same manner as it hapned for it was reveal'd to him by God in the Consecrated Host. But the Revolt was in the Year 1640, and the 'Revelations' began at the same time, so how then could he foretel it four Years before it hapned? (2) That in the same Consecrated Host he saw a stately Throne, and our King Philip the Fourth sitting there in Majesty on a Pine-apple from the bottom whereof issu'd four Branches of Thorns, which growing up by degrees, prest him so hard that they cast him from the Seat, and that he heard a Voice, saying, 'The Monarchy of Spain is at an end.'

34. This Brother saw our King in a better place than the Gallows that the People of Macao had assign'd him! God's Will be done.

[1] The Venerable Pedro de Basto was one of the seventeenth-century Portuguese Jesuits who had mystico-political visions connected with Sebastianism and the desirability of freedom from Spanish rule. Cf. Azevedo (36–7): 'the cloisters of the Society of Jesus in particular were favoured with revelations concerning the future of the fatherland.' In the skilful propagation of these visions the Jesuits were pioneers in the art of psychological warfare; but Basto himself was no mere visionary for, if we are to credit his enthusiastic Jesuit biographer, he also invented a sort of 'dum-dum' bullet which enabled him to kill 1,500 of the enemy in the siege of Quilon (Fernão de Queyros, SJ, *Vida do veneravel irmão Pedro de Basto* (Lisbon, 1689), 95). Father Queyros's studies of Basto's visions led him to forecast the overthrow of the Turk in 1702 after which Portugal, the Fifth Monarchy, would be free to rule the world (ibid. 436–50).

But we see the Brother was a false Prophet, for the Monarchy of Castille still continues under Charles the Second, and we hope for much prosperity in his time. (3) That there would in a short time be a Pope come from the Society of Jesus; That new Missions should be discover'd, and those that are lost restor'd; and that there should be mighty Conversions in India, so that the Society should not be sufficient to go through the Work, but that it should be mighty prosperous.

35. All that relates to the Society I look upon as likely enough, and there needed no new Revelations for it. The daily experience we have of their increasing in Learning and Virtue, may be ground enough for us to hope as much. As for the Missions the time is not fulfill'd; for tho he says 'shortly', it may be many Years to come, and yet be so call'd.

(4) That the Portugueses and Dutch would be as close as the nail and the flesh; That he saw a Miter and other Episcopal Ornaments with the Arms of Portugal over Jacatra.

36. The first Article of this 'Revelation' I can expound as meaning that the Dutch are the Nails that have claw'd off all the flesh the Portugueses had in India! As for the second part of it, the Missioners in Canton us'd to laugh at it.

(5) In the Year 1640 he prophesy'd the miserable state of Macao, and that [Portuguese] India should be restor'd to the condition it was formerly in.

37. The first part we are eye-witnesses to, and it was a necessary consequence of the loss of its Trade with Japan and Manila. As for the second: it is at present even worse than it was then for that very Year they lost Malaca, after that Ceylon, and lastly Cochin.

(6) In the Year 1641, he said, a way would be open'd into Japan, because the Holy Ghost appear'd favourable to that Kingdom, and that he saw many things relating to it in the Consecrated Host. No part of this Prophecy has been verify'd to this day, in 1675.

38. He says further, That he saw Father Cypriano in the Consecrated Host on the right hand, cloth'd in Glory, with many Rays of Light coming from him; and Brother Bustos said, 'That Father was a great Saint, but that he was not yet perfected; nor

did he know which way God would guide that Father but yet he was much belov'd by God.'

39. Now this 'Revelation' spoil'd all the rest, and proves they are Fictions and Frauds, and no Revelations, for Cypriano was a great Knave, Hypocrite, and Cheat. It is wonderful what false Miracles he gave out, and how he counterfeited Sanctity; The Ambassador Emanuel de Saldanna told me that he was a treble Heresiarch. Let it suffice that he is at this time in the Prison of the Inquisition at Goa, and condemn'd to perpetual confinement there. There is where he will be perfected![1]

(7) In the Year 42 Bustos prophesy'd the Martyrdom of five Persons, but two of them gave an ill account of themselves.[2]

40. Those Men believe, applaud and extol these Follies.

41. Just before my departure from China, some News arriv'd out of Europe; One piece was, that Bandarra had been a notorious Jew, that his Tomb was thrown down, and his Prophecies supprest.

42. Another Report was That the English at Bombay overthrew the Catholic Churches, and cut to pieces the Pictures on the Altars. But I was afterwards told at Goa, who had been the real cause of all that and perhaps in another place I may give a hint at it; and perhaps not, for all Truths are not to be writ: it is enough it be known in those parts of the World.[3]

[1] Cypriano was an Italian Jesuit who travelled in the East during the 1630's and 1640's, leaving a trail of dissatisfaction behind him. He arrived in Macao in 1638, announcing that in a recent twenty-six-hour interview with the Almighty he had been ordered to seek martyrdom in Japan, and he demanded transport thither. The merchants of Macao were not interested in exporting martyrs and wanted no interference with their trade with Japan, already difficult enough: Cypriano was deported and shortly afterwards signed a confession that his visions were false. He was expelled the Society, but later retracted the confession and himself 'expelled' the Father Rector of Macao. Obviously deranged, Cypriano nevertheless had a following who regarded him as a saint; others, however, suspected insanity or that he was possessed—even that he was a Dutch 'secret weapon' sent to destroy Macao by his follies. Navarrete derives the adjective 'Cyprianistico' from his name (*C* 435, 645). See further *Arquivos de Macau*, III, 147–51, and the 'Historia', in AJUDA, Jesuitas na Asia, 49–V–12, ff. 539–46; there is mention of him also in GOA, Ordens Regias, No. 3, ff. 295–300 and AGN, Inquisición 419, ff. 226–34.

[2] A reference to Jesuits who are alleged to have apostatized in Japan under torture; see Boxer, *Christian Century*, 391, 447.

[3] See also *C* 35. Portugal ceded Bombay to the British under the marriage treaty of 1661. The Jesuits, whose interests there were involved, naturally resented dis-

43. They also reported that the Infidels attack'd Goa, took 2000 Christians, and kill'd a Franciscan, and that the Portuguese Viceroy did not behave himself well.

possession and aroused English ill-will by their reactions (*EF, 1661–4*, 131, 139, 142–4, 216). The English Factors reported to London that if the Jesuits were to retain all their privileges and exemptions Bombay would not be a paying concern; other accusations followed (*EF, 1665–7*, 45). At Bandra in April 1667 two Englishmen found the inhabitants in arms, headed by the Jesuit Superior; English complaints then increased against 'those architects of this rebellious fabrique . . . the greatest bout-feu's of the world . . . those caterpillars the Jessuits' (ibid. 302–9). But it was not all the Jesuits' work, for the majority of the population resented the cession.

CHAPTER XVIII

MY VOYAGE TO MALACA, AND STAY THERE

1. The Captain and Pilot of the Ship's name was Stephen Diaz, a Man in great repute at Macao, but he lost much of it this Voyage. There are many ill-grounded Opinions; because four or five say 'such a Man is an able Pilot, or good Soldier,' they presently applaud him as such, and when occasion offers he appears to be a mere Ignoramus. Certain it is, he was an honest Man and good Christian; so that doubtless God favours him, which is Knowledg and good Fortune enough. He never swore nor curs'd, a thing rare enough in an European and Portuguese Sailor. When angry he would say, 'I vow my Soul to God.' He pray'd incessantly, his Rosary Beads were never out of his hands, and he delighted in hearing talk of Spiritual things. He offer'd me all he had aboard; I stood not in need of it, but was thankful for his good Will, and did him all the Service I could. When the Tartars oppress'd Macao, he put to Sea; and to save his Ship and Mens Lives, he went to Manila, which Port he put into upon the security of a Pass he had from the Governor Don James Salcedo [1663–8]; who did not observe it, but took his Ship. All Men disapprov'd of this Action, and when that Governor was seiz'd, he that succeeded him [Peña Bonifaz], restor'd the Ship to the right Owner, and he return'd in it to Macao in August 1669. I had good accommodation given me in the great Cabin, where there were some other Passengers who all were extremely kind to me. The first night he steer'd East, and then tack'd and stood away to the South, thinking he had left the Flats of Pulisisi [Pulo-Cecir] astern (they are famous in that Sea, and extend below Camboxa) here it was he began to lose the Reputation of being an able Seaman. A great Pilot who went aboard as a

Passenger, said to him, 'Captain, how can you expect in one night's sail to come up with the Flats along the shore?' The Pilot still fell off to Leeward, which was to go even closer to those Flats. One night when the Pilot was gone to rest, after having given his Orders to the Steersman, that Pilot who was a Passenger, (his name was Vincent Fernandez)[1] ask'd for his Sword, and bid his Man take his Spear, and be on the watch for he was perswaded we should be stranded upon the Flats, and he design'd to betake himself to the Boat. He came up softly without noise to the Bittake, and said to the Steersman, 'We are running right upon the Flats, pray bear up 8 Points to windward; and if the Pilot says any thing, tell him the Ship flew from the Helm.' Under God this Precaution sav'd our Lives, for one morning, notwithstanding that bearing away eight Points, we found our selves within a Stones throw of the Point of the Flats and from which the Shallows did run out; at this we were all filled with Fright. Every day the Rosary, *Salve*, Litany, and other Prayers were said kneeling, few days pass'd without saying Mass, we had frequent Sermons and Exhortations, and much going to Confession and Communion. We arriv'd at the Island Pulocondor, which is large and well-wooded; the Natives came out to us with some refreshment of Fruit: They brought with them a little Animal the Portugueses call Perguiza, that is, Sloth: it was very strange and oddly shap'd, its slow Motion and Looks seem'd to be the very emblem of Sloth. It brought forth a young one while aboard ship and the young one clung fast to the Dam's Belly, and she with it hanging, crept up the Shrouds extraordinary leasurely.

2. We made thence for the Strait of Sincapuera ⟨Singapore; it is less than a Musket-Shot wide. I observ'd with Care the Shape and Position of those Lands and Straits. [*T* 431]⟩ Our Pilot had never pass'd it before, and Practice is always desirable in a Pilot. We came within Musket-Shot, and no sign of a Passage appear'd, so he was about to tack and steer away for the New Strait, call'd 'The Governor's,' which is wider, and at present most people go by that way.[2] Some aboard were satisfy'd the Strait was

[1] Both pilots were known to Gama (I, 183; II, 696, 757).

[2] Singapore Strait was called Governor Strait or New Strait by the Portuguese

Fig. 5
INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA
Miles
0
500
1000
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
30
20
10
0
CHINA
EAST CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
TAI-WAN
Canton
Macao
BENGAL
Calcutta
TONKING
HAI-NAN
PHILIPPINES
Manila
Cambay
Diu
Swally
Surat
Bassein
Bombay
Chaul
INDIA
BURMA
Dabhol
Golconda
Hyderabad
Goa
Masulipatam
SIAM
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Bangkok
Madras
Coromandel coast
Cannanore
Tenasserim
CAMBODIA
Cochin China
Pulo-Cecir
Tranquebar
Negapatam
Jafnapatam
Pulo-Condor
Quilon
C. Comorin
CEYLON
Colombo
Maldive Is.
C. Galle
NEW GUINEA
Ternate
Tontoli
Pulo-Penang
BORNEO
Malacca
Governor Str
SUMATRA
Amboina
Mandhar
Caile
Mamoja
CELEBES
INDIAN OCEAN
Macassar
Jakarta
Bima
Solor
TIMOR
JAVA
AUSTRALIA

there, as having pass'd it some times: but the obstinacy of honest Stephen Diaz was so positive that he would believe no body. At a Point of Land which conceal'd the Passage there was a great number of Fishermen there call'd Saletes, who live always upon the Water, and in their Boats carry their Wife, Children, Cat, Dog, Hens, &c.[1] One of the Boats made to us, the Master of it came aboard and carry'd us through very safe. That Country belongs to the King of Jor [Johore], who has abundance of Pepper. Having discover'd the Passage, which we admir'd to see how close Nature has hid and conceal'd it, we sail'd easily along. I had heard it said at Canton, that when Ships sail'd through there, the Yard-arms hit against the Trees on both sides, and that the Current was so violent, it whirl'd a Ship about with all her Sails abroad. The first is a mere Fiction, the second is false; tho perhaps when the South-West winds reign there may be something of it, but it is not likely considering the position of the Continent and Islands about it. The Passage is scarce a short Bow-shot in width, two Ships cannot pass it board by board but it presently grows wider, and abundance of Islands appear. Our incorrigible Pilot would needs keep close under the Shore till he lost the Channel, and the Ship struck upon the Sand but being it sprung no Leak, we were not much troubled. As soon as this happen'd, abundance of the Saletes took their Posts to observe us, to make their advantage in case the Ship were cast away. Practice had made them very expert at it. But the Flood carry'd us off safe. On Saturday, being the Eve of the Purification, or Candlemas [1 February], we came to Anchor in sight of Malaca. I went ashore that afternoon, and told the Governor [Baltasar Bort] I desir'd to make my way thence to Manila, either through Siam or Camboxa. He would not consent to it so I us'd all my Art, but in vain, which made me very melancholy; I spoke to the chief Parson, who did all he could for me, but obtain'd nothing. One

and French; for this see W. D. Barnes, 'Singapore Old Straits and New Harbour', *JSBRAS*, No. 60 (1911), 25–34, and C. A. Gibson-Hill, 'Singapore: Notes on the History of the Old Strait, 1580–1850', *JMBRAS*, XXVII (1954), 163–214.

[1] The celebrated 'orâng-laut', or Sea-Sakies, are mentioned by many early travellers; see W. G. Maxwell, 'Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca', *JSBRAS*, No. 60 (1911), 17–18; and Crawfurd, *art.* 'orâng-laut'.

day I got into a passion, and said to the Governor, 'So it is then, that your Lordships in this place tolerate Gentiles, Mahometans, and all barbarous Nations, and will not admit a Spanish Religious for one Month, tho we are at peace with you; what reason is there for it?' There is none but their profession and our wretchedness.[1]

3. That afternoon the Stewards of the Brotherhood of the Rosary, invited me to go up the River at eight of the Clock at night, where most of the Catholics live, there to sing the *Salve* and Litany of our Lady. I could not avoid it, but went. They had their Church well adorn'd and after the Rosary, the *Salve* and Litany was sung very well, I being in a Cope, brought out the Image of our Blessed Lady, which was a very beautiful one.[2] Then I heard some Confessions, and having taken my leave of the People, went away to rest at the House of an honest Portuguese, who was marry'd to a Malaye Woman. I was twelve days ashore; each Evening and Morning was spent in hearing Confessions. I said Mass every day but one, and administered the Blessed Sacrament; The rest of the day I visited the Sick, and that they might all be pleas'd, I shared out my Mass by saying it one day in one House, and the next in another; thus we secur'd our selves against a French Parson who was watching of us. There was another Portuguese Parson born in Algarve, who was more trusty, and a better Friend to his Countrymen. At Jacatra, as I was there told again, tho I had heard it before, there were two other Parsons, they were both of considerable Families.[3] It is well known who the

[1] Governor Bort seems to have been a tolerant man: in 1665 he reported the arrival of a Portuguese priest named Fernandus Manuel who was insolently resisting attempts to stop him performing his priestly duties and using seditious language (B. Bort, 'Report on Malacca, 1678', trans. and annot. M. J. Bremner and C. O. Blagden, *JMBRAS*, v, pt. i (1927), 82–3).

[2] The Jesuit Father Rhodes also refers to this Church and its image and puts it at about two leagues out of the city (W. H. C. Smith, 'The Portuguese in Malacca during the Dutch Period', *Journal of the South Seas Society*, XIV (1958), 78), that is, outside the Dutch zone, which only extended, according to Gemelli-Careri (271), for three miles around the city. The Catholics, he reported, practised their religion in the woods and with much danger.

[3] One of these was the first translator of the Bible into Portuguese, João Ferreira de Almeida (1628–91); born in Mangualde (Portugal), he became a Protestant at the age of fourteen in Jacatra. In 1656, he became a Pastor, served as a missionary

Governor was originally, who has govern'd those Parts several Years.
4. There were up to 2000 Catholicks in that place, as I was told;[1] the Women were extraordinary good Christians, some of the Men were so too; many did not confess to me because it was easy to them to resort to an Indian Clergyman who was disguiz'd there. I am perswaded some are lukewarm and weak in the Faith, by reason of their conversing with the Dutch.[2] Heresy, says St Paul, is like a Cancer, it is a Plague and Poison that insensibly infects. I shed Tears as I walked through those Streets, to see that Country possess'd by Enemies of the Church, for it is a Garden and Paradise in Worldly things; in Spirituals it was once a great Colony, and the Church has many Children there still, but they are set among bloody Wolves. The Women wish they could get away from thence, but are so poor and without help that they cannot; those who have some Wealth are pleas'd and satisfy'd.
5. That place is in two degrees and a half of North-Latitude. The Climate is charming and the place where the Catholicks live the best in the World. The Coco Trees grow up to the Clouds: there are Orchards full of Orange, Lemon, and Plantan-Trees, Papays, Xambos, and other sorts of Fruit.[3] The [Catholics] have

in Ceylon, and finally settled as Pastor to the Portuguese-speaking Protestants in Jacatra. His translation has given him a place in the history of Portuguese literature. See David Lopes, *A Expansão de Língua Portuguesa no Oriente durante os séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII* (Barcelos, 1936), 115–28.

[1] Before its capture, in 1641, Malacca had a population of 20,000; after the surrender to the Dutch there were only 3,000 left (Smith, 74). On the fate of Catholicism under the Dutch see Teixeira, 'Missões Portuguesas de Singapura e Malaca', *BEM*, XXXVI(1939), 836–8. See also the report (October 1646) of Pedro de Francisco, SJ, in Maracci, 67–76. On Portuguese misrule in Malacca see Crawfurd, 248. The Dutch version of the siege and capture of Malacca is translated by Mac Hacobian, 'Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640–41', *JMBRAS*, XIV, pt. i (1936), 1–178. Friar Juan Bautista Morales, on his way from China to Europe, to collect his volunteers, among whom was to be Navarrete, had witnessed the taking of Malacca (Santa Cruz, 411–13).

[2] Gemelli-Careri (271) found these Catholics to be better instructed than those anywhere in Europe, and Governor Bort (87) reported that though the Protestant divines took to preaching in Portuguese they accomplished little or nothing.

[3] For the Papaw Fig and the Jambu see Crawfurd, *s.v.* Gemelli-Careri (271–2) complained that the Malacca Durion smelt 'like rotten Onion'; Navarrete (*T* 38) explains that 'at the first bite it exhales a little smell of Onion, and therefore they do not like it so well as others; I own I perceiv'd it, but it is gone in a moment, and

two other places there, not so pleasant but good. The Fruit had then begun to come forwards and already there were very good and well-tasted Pine-Apples. The Christians furnish'd me with several necessaries against I went aboard, and some Mony given me for Masses. Another Religious of my Order, took up his Lodging in an Acquaintance his House; he and I took all the pains we could, and had we staid there much longer, we had found plenty to do. Among the rest there was there a Woman, an extraordinary good Christian, she furnish'd Bread and Wine for the Masses. She had a Daughter whom she educated with all possible care; yet when grown up, she marry'd a Heretick, who soon perverted her, and she prov'd a mortal Enemy to Catholicks.

6. The Dutch gave good Alms even to the Catholick Poor, but almost oblig'd them to be present at their Service. A poor lame Man said to me, 'Father, I cheat them very handsomly, for being lame as I go up that Hill, I feign my self lamer, and sit down to rest every step, so that I never get to the top, nor never will.' Upon Sunday-nights the Hereticks make their Feasts in the Streets. As I was going home with some Friends, we found a jolly Dutch Man with his Table and Bottles in the cool Air; he invited us, and I accidentally ask'd, 'Are you marry'd, Sir, in this Country?' He answer'd me very pleasantly, 'Yes, Father. I marry'd a Black; since I cannot eat white Bread I take up with Brown.' Some of us from a Catholick's House, saw a Dutch Man lash two Blackamore Women most cruelly who seem'd to be Catholicks; he had ty'd them to Coco-Trees, and beat them unmercifully and one of them call'd upon Jesus and Mary, and we saw him for that reason lash her again in a most outrageous manner, in his great anger.

7. Anthony Marinho, a Portuguese, told me that Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho had basely lost that place of so great moment and consequence.[1] Whoever holds Malacca commands the Strait, and

there remains a sweet delicious taste.' There is more praise of the Durion at *C* 72. Other passing references to Malacca deal with the coinage (*T* 61) and China root (ibid. 59).

[1] This harsh judgement was not shared by the Dutch conquerors, who praised Sousa's 'wonderful courage' as one of the principal reasons why the Portuguese had held out so long (Mac Hacobian, 'The siege and capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640–41', *JMBRAS*, XIV, pt. i (1936), 68).

that place is the general Rendezvous for all the Kingdoms of India. When it was taken by the Dutch, three Fathers remain'd there; two of them I knew very well, the other was a French Man who dy'd some Years since in Europe. They demanded a place where they might administer to the Catholicks; the Dutch sent to Jacatra for Orders to give them a Church, and it is reported they design'd it should be that of St Anthony; but the Fathers being too impatient of delay, tho the Dutch themselves advis'd them to be moderate, they threatned the Dutch they would take from them the Water of the Well of Batachina [Boukit China], which is the best they have, and is always guarded.[1] These Threats provok'd the Dutch, who sent them to Jacatra, where they were forbid saying Mass. The French Father, who was over-zealous, even in the Opinion of his own Brethren, continued saying of it. They grew angry at him, took away a Crucifix he had, and the Villains burnt it publickly, the Father himself was at the foot of the Gallows: happy he, had he ended his Life there.[2]

8. The compass of Malaca is small, but the situation strong. It is encompass'd with good Walls and Bulworks, it is in the shape of a Sugar-loaf, in the upper part stood the House and Church of the Society: the Church now serves as a Wall and the Monastery at present is a Magazine.[3] It was a great annoyance to the Portugueses, as they themselves say, that they had not level'd that Eminence. Among the Hereticks I met there was one who always valu'd himself upon his Wisdom, tho he had none; he obstinately urg'd that Woman was more perfect than Man; without

[1] Boukit China, name of a hill just NE of Malacca town connected in Malay history with Chinese settlers of the fifteenth century and now containing many Chinese graves (Blagden, note to Bort's *Report*, 209). Navarrete did not believe the Chinese had ever been there and (*T* 5) argues against the tradition; cf. Purcell, 282–9.

[2] The Dutch victors offered to let the priests remain in Malacca but the Portuguese were quite unable to comprehend this tolerance and elected to go; two Dominicans were left behind to look after rents and incomes. After the threats to cut off the well-water the remaining clergy were banished (1645–6) although two Jesuits worked there from 1651–5 (Mac Hacobian, 53–5; Smith, 77; Rouleau, 'Siqueira', 34).

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alledging any reason but his repeated Affirmation. But when St Paul was quoted against him he made no answer, either good or bad, but swallow'd his Spittle and was silent.

9. The Hereticks administer Baptism and Matrimony to the Catholicks. I found there some Indians from Manila who enjoy their Liberty and are free from those Taxes and other Dutys that lie upon them in their own Country.

10. On the 11th of February we went aboard again, and the 12th with a fair Gale left Cape Rachado astern; it belongs to Malaca, and is possest by the Hollander. Now we begin another Voyage, therefore it will be fit to conclude this Chapter, and begin another.

CHAPTER XIX

MY VOYAGE FROM MALACA, AS FAR AS MADRASTA PATAN

1. They told us at Malaca, the Season was too far advanced for us to reach Goa, so that we travelled in fear and dread. To increase it the more, we had a dead Calm in that narrow Sea: We cast Anchor at Sun-setting, and at Sun-rising again weigh'd very leasurely. Thus we came to an Island uninhabited, call'd Pulo Pinang [Pulo-Penang], well wooded; there we took in Water very slowly. We continued there two days, and one of them the Wind blew very fair, which was needed to compass our Design. On the first of March, after Sun-setting, the Wind blew terribly, and we being just ready to pass betwixt two of the Islands of Nicobar, the Pilot was afraid and back'd his Sails, so that we lost Way every moment. The second of the said month, as we sail'd betwixt the said Islands, several Boats came out to us with fresh Provisions; our People got Hens, Cocos, Plantans, and some Amber, all in exchange for old Rags. The Vessels were extraordinary fine, some had thirty Oars, and row'd to the admiration of us all. The People were somewhat black, and had red Hair, which is wonderful; among them that row'd there were Women, all were naked, saving just before and behind, where they had some dirty Rags. According to what they said aboard our Ship, those People were so warlike that they had boarded a Dutch Ship. It is certain that they devour alive the Europeans they catch. The Pilot told me there was a strange Well in an Island we saw there, whatever is put into it, whether Iron, Copper, or Wood, comes out Gilt; I do not remember whether that gilding is lasting, but it is very remarkable.[1] The Weapons those people use are their Oars, which we saw were very sharp-pointed; the Wood is very hard, I believe they will strike through a mud Wall.

[1] Gemelli-Careri (269) also has this story.

2. The Wind held us the two following days, and we wanted forty Leagues of passing the Gulph of Ceylon. The third day we were becalm'd, and endeavour'd to avoid the Currents, which they said ran toward the Maldivy [Maldive] Islands, but they caught us sixty Leagues below Cape Galle [Ceylon]; all things conspir'd to thwart our Course. We had been three days making for the Island Ceylon. On the 9th of March when the Pilot least expected to make it, the Captain accidentally went out of the Cabin, and bent his Sight to discover Land. The Pilot said to him: 'It would be a Miracle to see Land now.' The Captain cry'd out, 'Land ahead'; had we sail'd one minute longer, the Ship had been ashore. They furl'd the Sails, and dropt Anchor with all possible expedition, then we plainly saw the Shore. It rain'd apace, the Wind blew hard and was right aft. It was very strange, we discover'd a League below us two Ships at Anchor as well as we; one of them weigh'd immediately away, and sail'd to windward of us. We lay there till next day; the Weather clear'd up, and we ran along the Island with a fair Gale. On the 25th of March we left Cape Galle astern, with terrible Thunder and Lightning that blinded us; three Men spent that night, till Sun-rising the next day, at play, without rising off the ground; the rest of us were very fearful, for the Wind still increas'd, so that we had a dismal night of it; but the three being intent upon gaming, minded nothing.

3. The Waggoners directed to coast Cape Galle, then along by Columbo, and to hold on to Negumbo, as being the best way to strike over to Cape Comorin. The Pilot would not steer the usual Course; and it succeeded accordingly, tho the reason he gave for it seem'd good enough in regard to the Voyage he was to make; but, in all Matters, new ways are dangerous as it is also to turn aside from the old, common and tried paths forged by others. Next we had Calms and hazy Weather; we met a Pink bound our way; every body was for making up to it to get some Information, but the Pilot thinking it implied a lessening of his Credit and Reputation, would not consent. These Pilots are a strange People for tho they perish by it, yet they will neither ask Advice, nor follow it. The Sea ran as swift as an Arrow towards the Continent, and the Pilot thought he should fall upon the

Maldive Islands. One night two Lights on the Coast were seen, so near were we to it: We tack'd, and in the morning found our selves near Land, but knew it not; in the afternoon two Blacks came up to us in a Catamaron, which is only three pieces of Timber on which they go out to Sea.[1] They told us we were off of Comorin and Tuticorin. The Wind came to South-West, so that in eight days we did not advance a foot. We had sight of Cape Comorin, but could not possibly weather it at that time. It was then propos'd to make for the Coast of Coromandel. Lent was near at an end, no body in the Ship eat Meat so much as once, and all did the Duty the Church imposes. That Lent I said Mass 31 times, and preach'd 19, which is fair enough at Sea. I bless'd Palm on Palm-Sunday, and we did the best we could.

4. A Council was held about going into Port; they had before talk'd of and resolv'd upon it, yet none would give his Opinion in publick. I took upon me to show the Reasons that oblig'd us to put into a Harbour, which afterwards all agreed to. That night we sail'd before the Wind, and if they would have done as the Pilot advis'd, which was to go to Columbo, it had been better for us. We sail'd as far as the Flats, which are fifty Leagues above Cape Galle; all the business was in passing them. On the 8th of April so furious a Wind rose with the Moon, that we were forced to run before it. The next night we found our selves against Galle, we were willing to put in, but no body knew the way; they design'd to winter there. We pass'd on to Columbo, cast Anchor; some went ashore, but they would not give leave for the Priests, and we were three of us. There are above 3000 Catholicks there, and they have no Priest among them ever since the Portugueses so disgracefully lost that Island to the Dutch [1656–8], as basely as they had done Malacca. So I was told aboard the Ship; some blam'd Antony de Sousa Coutinho [1655–6], Brother to him that lost Malaca; others said it was a Judgment, as I have mention'd before. His own Countrymen report it of Philip de Mascarenhas, who had been Governour there [1640–5], that he us'd to say, the King of Candea [Kandy], who was Lord of that noble Island, should be his Footman and Groom. There are Men of wonderful

[1] Catamaran: a raft of three or four logs lashed together (*Hobson-Jobson*, 173).

Pride in the World. They say, the King, tho a Heathen, begg'd Peace and Friendship of him with a Crucifix in his hands; What more could a Christian expect from that Pagan?[1] Yet the Portugueses complain'd that the Natives of the Island took part against them; what reason had they to favour them? It were no wonder if the very Elephants and wild Beasts had fought against them.[2] General Machuca, who took that place, and afterwards Cochin, made War upon the Blacks of Tuticorin two months before our arrival; he kill'd 14000 of them, built a strong Fort, garison'd it, and return'd to Columbo. He came aboard us civilly, gave us Wood of the Cinnamon-Trees; we chew'd many of the Leaves, and they tasted like fine Cinnamon; we were supply'd with all things.[3] Some Catholicks came aboard to Confession; the Women show'd much Devotion, sent Beads and Candles to bless; ask'd for Holy Water, Chalice-Water and copies of the Gospels.[4] Some were for sending their Sins in writing, others for telling them to the Seamen, that they might confess by a third hand. An honest French Man and his Wife writ to me very feelingly, and presented me; I sent them Rosary Beads and Pictures. Another French Man, whose name was Bertran, very Old and Honourable, had been fourteen Years a Slave to the King of that Country; he fled, I heard his Confession, and got him some Alms of the Portugueses. They hang'd two Blacks on the shore in sight of us: They were Catholicks, and some Portugueses who were ashore told me, that a Heretick Preacher going along with them, one of the Blacks turn'd to him, and said, 'Do not preach

[1] The Governor's boast may well have been made; but the anecdote about the king is untrue.

[2] On the Portuguese administration in Ceylon, 1597–1656, see K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638–58* (Amsterdam, 1958), and H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon* (London, 1929), 124–33.

[3] Navarrete is doubly confused: by 'General Machuca' he means the Dutchman Maatzuiker. But the Governor at this time, and who 'came aboard us civilly' was Ryckloff Van Goens, and it was he who completed the capture of Ceylon and attacked Cochim and Tuticorin, as described here. But the date of this latter is wrong: the attack took place not two months but twelve years prior to Navarrete's visit. Ceylon was fully under Dutch control by 1658.

[4] Span. *Agua de Cáliz*; Churchill omits this. I take it to mean water that has been used to rinse out the Chalice and presume it refers to some now forgotten Iberian pious practice.

or talk to me, I know what I am to do, I am a Catholick and so I will die.' A good Black indeed.[1] There was Oil of Cinnamon sold there, but under half a Quartillo (that is, half a pint and half a quartern*) for seven or eight Pieces of Eight; The Scent was enough to raise a dead Man; I twice anointed my Stomach and Nostrils with two drops of it, it burnt my Bowels, and I was forced to rub my self very well with a Cloth, my Nose swell'd and burnt.[2] Had these two anointings been the one some time after the other, I had never ventur'd upon the second; but they were presently one after the other, which made the Effect the greater.

5. The Island is two hundred Leagues in length, and sixty in breadth; it is one of the best in the World, if not the best, the Temperature incomparable; Fields green all the Year, the Waters many and pleasant; it produces precious Diamonds and Rubies, and another rich Stone they call Cats-eye; it has Mines of Gold and Silver, Christal, the best Cinnamon in the World; abundance of Rice, Coco-Nuts, Fruit; the choicest Elephants, to which those of other parts pay Homage.[3] Some few months before the Dutch had been a hunting of these Creatures, they drove 150 of them down towards the Sea, sixty took into the places they had enclos'd for them, where they were tam'd; they sell them to the Moors for three or four thousand Ducats apiece; there are Ships that carry four and twenty of them: they are very good at Sea, because they always bear up against the upper side, and being so heavy do much good, and are a stay to the Motion of the Ship.

6. Many Portugueses live in the Hollanders Bay. And now they own how careful our King was of preserving that Island for he was us'd to say in all his Orders, 'Let all India be lost, so Ceylon be sav'd.' He was in the right, for that Island alone is worth more than all they had in the East. We were told there were above four

[1] On the failure of the Dutch to root out Catholicism in territory in India taken from the Portuguese see Arasaratnam, 'Aspects', 13.

[2] 'An Oyl . . . which . . . smelleth excellently well. They use it for Ointments for Aches and Pains, and to burn in Lamps to give light in their houses' (Knox, 26).

[3] A common tale among early writers: 'Elephants . . . brought from other places do them Obeisance' (J. von der Behr, 'Diarium or Day Book', in R. R. Hart, *Germans in Dutch Ceylon* (Colombo, 1953), 22, 102).

hundred Portugueses at Candia, which is the King's Court, and is in the Heart of the Island, with their Wives and Children, and maintain'd by the King [Raja Sinha II; 1629–87], but they affirm he is fearful of them. He was at War with the Dutch and in the Year 1669 the Dutch took the Prince [Ambanvela Rale]; eight days after they sent him to Jacatra, in order to be sent into Holland. Unlucky and most Unhappy Prince, what a disaster befel him![1]

7. All the Spices, as Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmets, Pepper, &c., are in the Power of the Dutch; but the English and French deal in Pepper, because it is to be had in many places. In Ceylon there are abundance of Horses, Cows, Sheep, Asses. The Portugueses said they had five thousand Slaves only for filling in with earth and working at their Fortifications.

8. The principal places in that island are Negombo, Columbo, Galle, Matara, Mahature, Trincomalee, and others of less note. Besides this the Dutch are at present possess'd of Manor, all the Kingdom of Negapatam, Jafnapatam, Java, Tuticorin, Cochin and Macasar. They have abundance of Factories in those Eastern Parts; the greatest of them are Perak, Kedah, Varguerón, Vencelam, Pegu, Arakan; Fifty in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Vipelapatam, Cararga, Palacot, Clicaceli, Mahilipatam, Carcal, Negapatam, Calipiti, Caimal, Calature, Batacolor, Punta de Piedra, Quilon, Carnopoly (?), Peria, Castel, Cangranor, Cannanore, Vengurla, in all these Places they have Forts and Garrisons. Pulicat, Masulipatam, Golconda, Suratte, Kung, Bandarabassi, a Port in Persia, are also Factories: So they have at Isfahan, Basrah, Jeddah; Agra, the Mogol's Court, Borneo, Siam, Tunquin, Cochinchina and Japan.

9. The English are at Kung, Suratte, Bombay, which was part of Queen Catherine's Dowry, Karwar, Cape Ramus, and near

[1] The 'Prince' referred to, was a chief, Ambanvela Rale, one of the leaders of the Kandyan rebellion, which broke out in 1664, against Raja Sinha. The King handed Ambanvela Rale over to the Dutch for execution, apparently because he thought they would know of more exquisite forms of torture. They, however, freed the prisoner, treated him well, and hoped to use him against Raja Sinha (S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658–87* (Amsterdam, 1958), 25 ff.; Knox, 95; R. R. Hart, *Germans in Dutch Ceylon* (Colombo, 1953), 32, 107).

Goa, Madrastapatan. Here they have a very fine Fort, with a good Garrison, and heavy Cannon; Masulipatam, Madapollam, Vellore (?), Hugli, Bantam. When I came away they quitted Siam, they lik'd not the Country and Trade: they have also footing in the Island Hermosa. The French begin to have a Trade in India; they have Factories at Suratte, Rajapur, Masulipatam, Bengal, Siam and Sumatra. Not long since I was inform'd that the Fleet I met at the Island of Madagascar had put into Ceylon, where they built a Fort, with the leave and permission of the King of that Country; but the Dutch destroy'd it, took their Men, Ships, and other things. Afterwards understanding the Wars were then in Europe, they kept all they had taken, and the French remain'd Prisoners. The other part of that Fleet laid siege to the City St. Thomas, and took it, the Infidels being unprovided. Afterwards a great Power of Infidels came down and besieg'd the French; what the Event was I know not, but it seems impossible they should maintain themselves without a Miracle. They have no Provisions but what the country must furnish; and the Dutch will use all means and press at Golconda that they may be expell'd.

10. When the Dutch had taken Columbo [1656], they sent an Ambassador to the King of Candia.[1] He suffer'd him not to depart his Court in eleven Years. By degrees he made an Orchard and Garden to his House, planted Fruit-trees, and curiously adorn'd his Habitation. The King gave him leave to return to Columbo, and he, that the Natives might not enjoy the fruits of his labour and industry, cut down the Trees, pull'd up the Flowers, and spoil'd all. The King being told of it, was very much concern'd, and for a punishment order'd he should stay there till the Garden and Orchard were in the same condition they had been before he spoil'd them.[2] He ask'd of the Dutch a small Ship to see the shape and manner of those us'd in Europe. They made a fine one lin'd with Copper, and sent him word it was all Gold. He

[1] For a detailed description of the siege of Colombo, see Goonewardena, 167–74.

[2] Raja Sinha was said to have a rough way of dealing with ambassadors; see P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Hollanders, 1658–1796* (Tellippalai, 1918), 23; and Knox, 290–3.

found it was not, resented the fraud, and conceiv'd an ill opinion of those People. What a folly it was to think he should not distinguish betwixt Gold and other Metals! He left two Kingdoms and retir'd into the heart of the Island. Not long before his own People had assaulted him in his Palace, designing to kill him, but he made his escape, and absconded for a Month. Then he return'd, found means to execute some Great Men, and put their Wives to death, by which he secur'd him self. The Portugueses told us thus much during the twelve days we stay'd in the Port.[1]

11. The Dutch Judg ask'd the Captain of our Ship whether the Pope has power to take away King Alfonso's Wife, and give her to his Brother Prince Peter. The Portuguese had not a word to say, as he himself told me.[2]

12. The Coin that past at Columbo was Rix-dollars, Rupies, S. Thomas's, Pagodes, Pieces of Eight, and a particular Coin for the Country like that they had at Malaca. I sent a Sample of it to the Governour of Manila, that he might see the Metal and form of it, in case he would coin any like it, which has been talk'd of many Years, but is not yet begun.[3] There is no comparison between the Philippine Islands, and Malaca, Colombo or others of the same stamp, and yet these have coin'd a current sort of Money, which never goes out of the Country yet in the Philippine Islands for these hundred years, they have no Coin, but the Silver of New Spain. I have seen a Memorial at Madrid, which treats of this Subject.

13. Francis Caron a Dutchman took Nigumbo. He himself told the manner of it, and said, the Portugueses might easily have hindred them landing, and then they could never have hurt them; but they scoffed at them, and cry'd, 'Let those Drunkards land,

[1] For an account of the abortive rebellion against Raja Sinha in 1664, see Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power*, 25 ff.; and Knox, 92 ff., 221 ff.

[2] In 1668 Afonso VI of Portugal was deposed and his marriage nullified; his brother Pedro succeeded him and married his wife. More details of this incident are given in *C* 615, where the Captain is identified as Manuel Rodriguez Palmero.

[3] This subject is expanded at *T* 60–2. In 1656 Govr. Manrique de Lara reported to Madrid on Philippine coinage problems and lamented the skill of Chinese forgers (AGN, R. Céds. VI, Ex. 121).

and then we will treat them as they deserve;' (it is great folly and pride to despise an Enemy) they landed, drew up, the Fight began, and the Portugueses fled.[1] The River of the Fishery is near Nigumbo, the Dutch are Masters of all. At Columbo our Pilot being old and worn out, ask'd for a Dutch able Pilot, who knew those Seas. He design'd if the Weather would permit to put into Galle, and lie there till September. There is a Port, tho none of the best, and plenty of Provisions. We came near the mouth of the Harbour, the Wind was scant and we were to Leeward, therefore we dropp'd two Anchors. That Night was one of the dismallest that ever Man had at Sea. The Ship was foul of the Cables, the Sea ran high, the motion was so violent that a Man was safe in no place, there was not a Bed or Couch but broke the Lashers with which it was tied. Boxes, Chests, Jars, Flasks, and every thing was beaten to pieces. The worst was, that every time the Sea beat against the Ship we imagin'd she would founder. She bore much, but at last began to leak so fast that the Pumps could not deliver the Water out of her.

14. Thus we continued till one of the Clock next day. Good God, what falls and bangs we had! But it pleas'd the Lord we had an opportunity to weigh and we sail'd quite round the Island with a stiff Gale, and so to Jafanapatan. Opposite to New Port a Dunkirker came up with us, she put into that Port, and we past on. That day we discover'd St Thomas's Mount, and saluted the Saint with five Guns. On the second of May we anchor'd before Madrastapatan. I had an extraordinary desire to be ashore. A Portuguese came aboard, and I got into the Boat that brought him, so did others. Those are very odd Boats, they have no Nails or Pins, but the Boards are sew'd together with Ropes made of Coco, the Water enter'd by a thousand Holes and tho the Moors assur'd us they were safe, yet we could not but be in great fear.[2] When they come towards the Shore, they take the Surges, which drive

[1] For the taking of Negombo, see C. R. Boxer (ed.), *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* [by Francis Caron] (London, 1935), lxxix–lxxxv, especially lxxx, which explains the background to Navarrete's remarks.

[2] These surf-boats are Mussoolas, used on the Coromandel Coast, especially at St Thomé where the swell is 'ambitious' (*Hobson-Jobson*, 602–3). Navarrete's description is accurate.

them up so that we stept out of the boat upon the dry Sand. Thousands of Souls waited there to know the Ship, and who came aboard it. I went immediately to the Church of the French Capuchins, who resided there, to give God thanks for having deliver'd us from the Sea.

CHAPTER XX

MY STAY AT MADRASTAPATAN

1. When we came to this place, we found it beseig'd by the King of Golconda's Army, but without his Orders; their design was to extort something from the English, but they were disappointed. It is on the Coast of Coromandel, half a League short of the City of St Thomas, otherwise called Meliapor. Here the English have a noble Fort; they have also other Walls, but small, within which live all the Portugueses, who after the losing of Jafanapatan, Negapatan, and St Thomas, went to seek places to dwell. The English receiv'd them, and they live under their Protection and Government. They stand the English in stead, for upon occasion they make use of them, as they did at this time, when all Men took Arms and guarded the Walls. The Enemy had stopp'd all the Avenues, so that Provisions grew scarce.[1] There is neither Port nor Water, this last they get out of some small Wells they have dig'd. Ships lie safe six Months, then they go away till the fair Weather comes again. The English allow a publick Church, kept by two French Capuchins;[2] and tho there are many Secular Clergy-men, they all have to say Mass in the Fryers' Church, with no small subjection and dissatisfaction; but the English who are Masters there, favouring the Religious, they must have patience perforce.

2. Two Years before, there had been a great contest there betwixt

[1] This was a month-long blockade imposed by Chinapella Mirza, an officer of Nawāb Neknam Khān; it had been brought about by a disagreement over dues to be paid to the Nawāb (Love, I, 278; *EF*, new series, II, 9–11). The date of the siege is not known; but Navarrete shows it must have been April–May, 1670. It was called off when Governor Foxcroft complained to the Nawāb (Carré, 568).

[2] These were the celebrated friars Ephraim de Nevers, and Zenon de Baugé. Both were devoted to the interests of the English and this brought on them criticism from the Portuguese and others (Carré, 549–54). But their standing with the English enabled a thriving Catholic community to exist; see para. 9 below.

two English Governors [Winter and Foxcroft], both of whom would govern the place, and there was no reconciling of them. The Portugueses were divided, some favour'd the one, and others the other. One got the better, and banish'd many of the Portugueses that oppos'd him, together with the French Capuchins. Above a Year after he gave them leave to return.

3. It is in about 12 or 13 Degrees of North Latitude, and an excellent Climate, any nice Man may live there; the conveniency of buying Clothes is great, all those People living upon it.[1] I took up a little Room the Religious gave me, there I study'd, and eat what an honest Portuguese sent me. Another maintain'd the Religious. There I found a Biscainer, whose name was Dominick Lopez, an honest Man in good repute, had a Wife and two children, but was poor. He told me very great hardships he had endur'd among the Portugueses. I advis'd him to send his Sons to Manila, what he did I know not. I also found a German who was a mighty Mathematician, ingineer and good Souldier; he did the Portugueses good service, but they requited him ill. Knowing who he was, and how well look'd upon, I propos'd to him to go away to Manila, where he might come to Preferment with ease.[2] He agreed to it, I writ to the Governour about it, and directed him how to send his answer.

4. I went with him to St Thomas, we were first in a Church of Franciscans, which they call our Lady of Light, there was a Religious there even poorer than I yet he gave us to eat; and because I had none he gave me his Hat. I spoke with the Governour of the Bishoprick, who told me he would go the next day to the Mount.[3] We spent that Evening in a House of Jesuits [at the little Mount] but there was never a one in it. There we saw the Fountain the Holy Apostle made between two Rocks, and drank of it with much satisfaction; we also saw two Crosses cut in the

[1] The Spaniards valued the Coromandel cloth highly; already they were buying it through Macassar and some was shipped to Mexico (*EF, 1642–5*, 223–4).

[2] Others, too, praised the Germans as hard-working, frugal people, whereas the English 'cant live without flesh and strong drink' (*EF, 1670–7*, 153).

[3] The Bishopric of St Thomé [de Meliapor] was vacant from 1637 to 1693; the Vicar-General referred to here is the Silva of para. 10 below. St Thomé is a suburb of modern Madras.

hard Rocks, the Workmanship of the same Saint. We went into the Cave where we pray'd, it was very small, they afterwards cut the Rock and enlarg'd it. On one side there is a Breach in the Rock, which made a small Window. They recount for a certain truth and a receiv'd tradition, that when the Infidels came to kill him, the Saint would transform himself into a Peacock, and get out that way. ⟨Every Man may believe what he pleases, but I am apt to suspect that if the *Terra Australis Incognita* be discover'd, there will presently be other footsteps of St Thomas found there, and there will not want reasons and probabilities to make it out so! [*T* 442][1]⟩

5. In the way hither it is that happen'd to me which I have often told: A pair of small curious Chinese Wallets slip'd off the little Horse I rode on, and in them my Breviary and some other petty things; I did not observe this, but met two Moors with their Spears, who saluted me, and went their way; soon after I heard loud calling out, which made me turn about to see what was the matter, and perceiv'd the Moors pointing with their Spears to my Wallets.[2] I return'd, and made signs to them to reach them up to me but they would not touch them. I made signs again that they reach them me upon the point of their Spears. They understood me, and one of them taking them up with his Spear he handed me them. I thank'd them by signs, and went my way. What European would have done so much here, or there?

6. That Evening we came to the Mount, there are two little Houses at the foot of it uninhabited, besides others gone to ruin. When the Infidels took the City, they destroy'd all about it, but durst not meddle with the Apostle's Church, nor with that of our Lady of Light. The ascent of the Mountain is steep and difficult, but well provided with Seats and resting-places at certain distances. On the top is a small Flat or Plain tho kept in nice order, wall'd about in stone breast-high, with good Seats, altars at two

[1] According to legend, St Thomas reached India and was martyred on the Mount. Love discusses the subject, and quotes various writers on the Saint's relics and the 'Peacock-city' (I, 286–7, 292–5; II, 96–102). Navarrete repeats his doubts about this at *C* 67, 653.

[2] The Muslims in India were usually referred to as 'Moors'; the Hindus as 'Gentoos'.

corners and large Trees to make a Shade. In the middle is a curious little Church, with a House for a Priest and two Servants. The Prospect all about the Hill is incomparable, and extends as far as the sight can reach. To lie that night, we went down from the Mountain, and took up under a Tree upon the bare ground. Our Rest lasted not long, for a violent shower came on, which oblig'd us to get into a little House, into which we felt our way, and feared to meet with some Vermin. It secur'd us from the Rain, but we had a troublesome night of it, for we were engag'd with the Knats which never ceas'd tormenting of us.

7. Next day we went up the Mount again. The Diocesan Governour came and we said Mass, I uncover'd the Holy Cross and Picture of our Blessed Lady. The Holy Cross is both in nature and appearance exactly as Historians describe it, part of it is bloody, they say it is the Apostle's blood; I worship'd it and touch'd my Rosary Beads to it and others that were brought me for that purpose. Our Lady's Picture is painted upon Board, very beautiful, but the Colours somewhat decay'd. There they said, it had been found at the same time with the Cross, which is a mighty evidence against antient and modern Hereticks, who oppose Pictures; we worship'd, and I touch'd the Beads to it also.[1] The second Mass being ended, the Tabernacle in which those great Relicks are kept, was cover'd and lock'd up. The good Priest made much of us, we spent another night there upon the Bricks but such a Bed not being very easy, we got a Horseback betimes in the Morning; I went to say Mass at our Lady of Light, there I stay'd till Evening, being left with only my Chinese, and that Holy Religious, for the German went home, carrying my Horse with him. We went to see the City of St Thomas; the Moors would not let us in but from the Gate we saw some good Buildings, and very fine Walls. A Gentleman that was with me lamented that loss very much. The English are not so strong at Madrastapatan, yet they hold it and are like so to do. What signify Walls and Bulwarks, where there is no Government? I saw some curious Temples of the Natives, and wonderful large, deep and

[1] Hamilton (I, 197–8) gives fuller details and seems to have believed in the authenticity of the relics which he had 'often seen'.

wide Ponds, with artificial Islands in the middle curiously contriv'd. I walk'd gently home along those Habitations of Infidels, observing what was worthy of it. This was the 21st of June, and on the 24th I was to travel by land.

8. But before I set out it is requisite to observe some things, and to know them; not, however, to follow, but in order to reject them: the Inhabitants of the City of St Thomas came to be very rich and powerful and consequently grew very proud. It is generally reported of one Woman, that she grew to that height of vanity, that when she went to Church attended by many Women-slaves, one went before with a Censor perfuming her with Burnt-sweets. Can any madness be greater? She had, say they, so many St Thomas's (they are Crown-pieces with the Effigies of the Apostle) that she measur'd them by the Peck.[1] What follows is worse; many told me, (would to God it were a lye, and I had not heard it) that Catholick men were Pimps to Catholick Women, with Mahometans and Gentiles. Fryar dos Anjos will do well to note this. A beautiful and honest Maid was forc'd out of her Father's House, and deliver'd to a Mahometan. The King of Golconda has a Concubine to this day, the Daughter of a Portuguese. At a Procession of the Holy Week in the City of St Thomas, some Portugueses, tho' in the presence of Heathen, drew their Swords one against another; there's Devotion and good Example for you! It was common to permit the Infidels to make Processions within the City Walls, and so it was to be Godfathers at Christnings and Weddings, in Heretick Churches along that Coast. At Travancor one Portuguese kill'd another close by the Altar at the Consecration as Mass was saying by Friar Michael John, whom I visited, saw and discours'd with at Madrastapatan.

9. These two French Capuchins are not belov'd by the Portugueses; one of them holds some odd opinions, as that the Apostle St Thomas did not touch our Saviour's Wounds, and therefore

[1] Manucci (III, 124–5) has this story too and his account of the lady's end would have seemed proper to Navarrete: 'Justa Padrão . . . had her own room swept with brooms of gold, and other places with brooms of silver . . . and had servants with golden censers to incense her . . . when she came to die . . . she had not even a piece of cloth to make a shroud and at her burial was wrapped in a reed-mat.' See also Cortés Osorio, 45 *bis, verso* and *C* 638.

that Capuchin does not paint him as we do, but with his hands join'd. I had never heard of any such opinion before. I had a mind afterwards to be satisfy'd as to this point, so I look'd into Cornelius a Lapide, who proposes the doubt and tho he quotes two or three Authors for the Negative, yet he proves the Affirmative by the common consent of Saints and Doctors. Is not this more than enough to make a Man follow the general opinion, and accommodate himself to his parishioners if it were only for quietness sake? Neither would that Frier admit of carv'd Images in the Church. I fancy'd perhaps they might not be us'd in France, but was assur'd they were. ⟨He also holds the opinion, common to others, that the English Hereticks are not damned for they may repent at the End. One such being dead, that Religious, with Candle in hand, accompanied him to his Grave. For this and other things they carried him to the Inquisition of Goa. He translated all the Bible into Portuguese and it is in the hands of Blacks and Whites there.[1]⟩

10. There was a great and scandalous contention about who should be Governour of that Diocese, two Competitors strove for it. Silva was one of them, and Diaz Canarin the other.[2] The

[1] The Churchills omit the passage bracketed above; see p. cxvii. The friar referred to is Ephraim who had been welcomed by the English at Madras in 1642 to care for the half-caste Catholics employed there. His 'sanctity and learning' earned the respect of the English; his conversions aroused the Protestant chaplains' professional jealousy (*EF, 1655–60*, 402–6). The Portuguese denounced him to the Inquisition whose agents kidnapped him (1649), imprisoning him in Goa; the incensed English retaliated by imprisoning the leading priest of St Thomé. The King of Golconda, 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, threatened to burn down Meliapor if Ephraim were not freed, and the Inquisition hastily yielded, releasing the friar (1651) to return to his work. Navarrete unjustly repeats some of the false charges brought against Ephraim. Ephraim admitted to translating the New Testament into Portuguese, but the accusation of having buried a 'Heretick' with Catholic Rites is disproved by the Protestant Chaplain's lament that 'severall persons . . . are falne from our congregations . . . seduced by 2 fryers' who 'at the buryall of their dead, march before the corps with bell, booke, candle and crosse . . .' (*EF, 1655–60*, 403). Other accounts of the celebrated friar in *EF, 1651–4*, xxviii, 92; Manucci, III, 428–80 (allowing for his anti-Portuguese tendencies); Tavernier, I, 176–86; Carré, 549–51; R. da Cesinale, *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini* (Paris-Rome, 1867–73), III, 299–321; F. Penny, *The Church in Madras in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London, 1904–22), I, 26–33; Love, I, 47 ff.; Chappoulie, I, 99.

[2] 'Canarin' was a term used to describe an inhabitant of Kanara; one of the

latter was at Trangamba [Tranquebar] and the first near St Thomas, and is the same that went with me to the Mountain, when I visited that Holy Place. Father Pesoa favour'd him; and the Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican Fathers having spoke for the other at Goa, Pesoa said, they were all ignorant Fellows. Pesoa went away to Madrasta, and affirm'd that Silva was legally excommunicated by Father Diaz, who was the lawful Governour. Norwithstanding all this, the next day he admitted him to say Mass in his Church. Pesoa's Companion sided with Diaz. He writ a large Paper in defence of Diaz, and his Opinion, and challeng'd the French Capuchins, who stood for Silva, to dispute that point with them, appointing the English Preacher Judg betwixt them. Was ever the like heard of among even the barbarous Blacks of Angola?

11. Diaz took the short cut, and had recourse to the Mahometan King of Golconda to use force; he sent his Officers, who carry'd away with them Father Sylva, two Jesuits, and above forty Portuguese Men and Women Prisoners. They were brought before the King, who bid them chuse one of the two in his presence, and obey him. They did not agree, were cast into Prison, where one Portuguese kill'd another; they gave very ill example; one Jesuit was expell'd the Society, some Men and Women dy'd of the fatigue of the Journey. Frier Ephrem, a Capuchin, assur'd me that above fourscore had been foresworn upon the Evangelists in that Quarrel.

12. Diaz, afterwards betook himself to the English Governour of Madrasta, and sought his Protection. So he sollicited the assistance of a Mohametan and a Heretick. The dispute is still afoot. When I left there were two Governours, I know not whether either of them is dead, this is the only way of adjusting that difference.

13. It is a sad thing to see the Lusitanian People, formerly so famous, and dreadful in those parts, now so oppress'd and trampl'd on by those Nations.

14. Father Silva, the day we were at St Thomas his Mountain,

Konkani people of Goa; or a Creole Portuguese of Goa or other Indian settlement (Carré, 343). I know no other account of this confused anecdote, which is recalled at R 67.

told me some passages that had hapned at Goa, concerning some Wills made there; but 'many things are said, which are not prov'd', we must not believe all things.

15. At Madrasta I spoke with the Malabar Master that the Capuchins had at their Church to instruct the Natives. Inquiring into some Particulars, I found that Nation owns five Elements, Fire, Earth, Water, Air, and Wind. They adore the Sun, Moon and Stars (tho Mahometanism is introduced there, yet most of the Natives stick to their Paganism) they have a great reverence for Cows. They say, a certain God took flesh upon him in one of them, and that they are that God's Horses. The greatest Oath Kings swear, is by a Cow, and they never break it. They kill no Creature, undervalue those that eat them, and despise those of their Country that become Christians. The greatest reproach they cast upon a Christian, is to tell him, he eats Beef. When they are near death, they endeavour to have a Cow near at hand, and they clasp her Fundament as near as they can to the dying Person's mouth, that as he breaths out his Soul at his mouth it may go in at the Cow's back-door. They honour the Lion, saying another God rides on him; and they pay a respect to Deer, Dogs, Mice and Kites. Many days they will not break their Fast till they have seen a Kite. When they yawn they call the Dog, snapping their Fingers, which is calling of the God that rides upon the Dog, who has power to hinder the Devil from entring the Body when the Mouth opens.

CHAPTER XXI

MY JOURNEY TO GOLCONDA

1. When we arriv'd at Madrastapatan, our Pilot said he would make a Voyage to Tenaseri [Tenasserim], or some other place before going to Goa, to make amends for the great Expence he had been at; his Resolution was dislik'd. For this reason, and to avoid the Sea which had quite tir'd me, I resolv'd to go to Goa by Land: They gave me such a description of the Road, that it would have put any Man into the mind of seeing it, tho he had never so little mind to travel. I sold some Rags at a poor rate, left some Books and Papers with my Friends, borrow'd eight Pieces of Eight to be paid in Goa. I went to the English Governor, rather to beg an Alms, than to take my leave; told him my Want and Design, he immediately with much courtesy gave me five Pagodas of Gold, which amount to little less than ten Pieces of Eight.[1] A Native of Canara gave me two, so I thought I had enough for my Journey. The day before I set out, I took more notice than I had done before of the practice of the European Factors in those Parts; they are all serv'd by the Natives, who are most faithful, submissive, and punctual in doing what they are commanded. Some Factors have above 100 Servants; they are very chargeable for every one has a Piece of Eight and half, or two Pieces of Eight wages a Month; all these come together in the Evening to bid good night to the Factor, Governor, or Commander, and take their leave to go to their own Homes to bed. They rank themselves over against the Fort; some have lighted Torches in their hands, others beat Kettle-drums, others sound Trumpets, others play on Fifes, the rest beat their Spears and Bucklers together for above a quarter of an hour. After this a great

[1] This was George Foxcroft, Governor until his departure for England in January 1672. For the pagoda, see the article in *Hobson-Jobson*, and C. H. Philips (ed.), *Handbook of Oriental History* (London, 1951), 62.

Lanthorn was hung out on the top of the Governor's Palace; he appear'd at a Balcony, they all made him a low Bow, and there was an end of the Ceremony, which indeed was pleasant enough to see. Those Gentlemen take great state upon them; too much I thought.

2. I bought a Horse to carry me my Journey for the eight Pieces of Eight, for four more I hir'd an Ox to carry my Chinese and a Gentile who spoke a little Portuguese. A poor Portuguese went along with me to add to my Charge. On Midsummer-day at three in the Afternoon we set out of Madrasta. During this Journey, which held me 24 days, God be prais'd, nothing hap'ned amiss to me. The lodging Houses, which they call Chauril, were not all alike, but all alike were open without any Door, free to all the World.[1] Nevertheless we always lay quiet and safe, sometimes in great Towns, without being molested by any body in the least, which would be rare among Catholicks. The Portugueses had a small Leather-bottle for Water; they are made at Golconda, they would be of no less value in our parts than in those hot Regions for when the Water had been an hour in it, tho the Weather were never so hot, it become so cool that I daily admir'd it anew; in two or three hours it was very cold; thus we never wanted good Drink all the way. I afterwards bought one, which lasted me a long time, and was well worth my Mony; at Suratte I gave it to an Indian of Manila; they would save a great expence of Ice in Europe. Our Food was not good, for there was nothing but Milk, Whey, Curds and Onions; but abundance of these things, as well in Towns as on the Mountains, on which there is abundance of Cattle. When we saw a Cottage, at the least Call out came the Shepherds with a pot of Milk, and four of us would drink our Belly-full for a Halfpenny.

3. A very remarkable Passage befel me with the Gentile, who was owner of the Ox: He carry'd his Pot to dress his Meat (so they all do travel) wrap'd in Clothes, and put into a Sack: My Man touch'd it thru' the Sack, the Heathen saw it, and came to me in a rage like a Tyger, complaining that his Pot was defil'd,

[1] 'Chowry' is the western Indian form of the southern word 'Choultry' (*Hobson-Jobson*, arts. 'choultry' and 'chuttrum').

and there was no pacifying of him. At last he pull'd the Pot out of the Sack, and with wonderful rage dash'd it against the stones, I was forced to buy him another. I said and did enough to have convinc'd a Stock, but these People are harder than Bronze in the observation of their barbarous Customs. There are three ranks or degrees of People in that Country: the Banianes are the Nobility and Gentry, they are great Fasters, and abstain from Flesh all their life-time; their ordinary Food is Rice, sour Curds, Herbs, and the like.[1] Others are call'd Parianes, these neither eat nor drink any thing that another has touch'd, nor out of a Vessel that another has touch'd, tho there be many Clothes over it. My Heathen Ox-driver was one of these, he would never eat any thing from my hand, nor drink out of any Vessel of mine; he broke the Pot because it had been touch'd. Among these Parianes, there is one sort who are look'd upon by the rest as base and vile People. These on the Roads, when they see one of the others, step aside and give them the way: In Towns they come not to any bodys Door but their Equals; in the Streets so soon as ever they see a Man that is not of their own Rank, they run or hide themselves. They are despis'd and hated by all Men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious Persons. I heard say, they had been formerly the noblest People in that Country, and that for a piece of Treachery they committed, they were so cast down; in so much that the others will not admit of them as Servants or Slaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the House of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole Structure. They are the most miserable People in the World; the greatest Affront is to call them Parian, which is worse than among us Dog, and base Slave.

4. It is wonderful what numbers of great and small Cattel we met with in the Fields; I saw two species of Sheep and Goats, some like those of Spain, others much bigger. There are also those Sheep which are found in many other parts, and which we usually call five quarters: The Goats are vastly taller than ours; the Shees

[1] 'Banyan, a Hindu trader . . . but the term is often applied by early travellers in Western India to persons of the Hindu religion generally' (*Hobson-Jobson*, 63). For Pariah, ibid. 678; and Philips, 59, 71, 75.

had at their Throat two little Dugs longer than their Ears. As the Egyptians kept Ewes and Cows for their Milk and Wool; so do these People for the same reason.

5. There are infinite Groves of wild Palm-trees. At Manila they are not minded, and here they are the greatest Riches of the Earth: They draw from them a great deal of the Liquor I said was call'd Tuba [Toddy] at Manila, which yields them good profit. They also produce a sort of Fruit which I saw not in any other place, and is like Snow, the coolest thing in the World. It is wonderful to see what Woods there are of Tamarine-Trees, we often travel'd a considerable way under their shade. I gather'd the Berries as I rode, and eat them with a special Gust. Near them we often found stately Ponds all of Stone; when it rains they fill up to the top, and that Water lasts all the dry season; there Travellers stop, rest, drink, and water their Beasts. They told me they were the work of great and rich Heathens, who being mov'd to compassion, seeing there was no Water for Travellers in several places, had caus'd those Ponds to be made to supply this defect and want.

6. The Tamarine Trees are planted very regularly; the Natives make use of their Shade to weave their Webs in it, sheltered from the Sun. Their Houses are little and dark, they cannot see in them to weave, nor is there room for the Looms, therefore they have provided that Shade for this purpose. They make much use of the Fruit in dressing their Diet.

7. We also saw stately and antient Temples, and wonderful Mosques of the Mohametans. The further we travel'd, the greater Towns we met with; in some of them there was a mighty concourse of Passengers, Horses, Elephants, and abundance of Camels, which in that Country carry all Burdens. The Mahometans travel with great state; the Governors of large Towns went in Royal state. They were always very civil to me, I had occasion to speak to one of them; I took off my Hat, he would not hear a word till I was cover'd and sat down by him. In some places I met Persians and Armenians, fine Men, graceful, tall, well-shap'd, very courteous, and they have the best Horses in the World.

8. About the middle of July, near a Town, we found a little Brook so clear and cool we were surpriz'd at it; I guess'd the

Spring was near and we drank unmercifully. Our Diet being slender it did us harm, and particularly me so we were forced to stay a day there. Next day a Scorpion stung the Portuguese, I really thought he would have dy'd, and this somewhat retarded our Journey. We came to a River so wide and deep, that the Horse, who was but small, could not carry me over; It was some hardship, for we waded with the Water up to our Breasts; the Current was rapid, and the Portuguese a poor Heartless bit of a Man began to cry out that the Water carry'd him away; and since it was so indeed we had all enough to do to bring him off. After this we pass'd another River but not so deep and for more safety I deliver'd the Papers and Letters I had to my Man, charging him to be very careful. No sooner was he in the River, but he fell, and left all he carry'd in the Water. I was very much concern'd at this Misfortune; to remedy it in some measure, I laid all the Papers in the Sun, and some Chinese Books, which being of extraordinary fine Paper suffer'd the more; in this place we spent some hours. To mend the delay we came afterwards to a Lake, the Gentile was positive we must cross it to shorten the way; I was so unlucky that my Horse fell, and I too, with my Wallets that carry'd the Papers; I gave all for lost, tho with some trouble and loss of time all was reasonably retriev'd.

9. By the way we fell in with a Pagan Youth of a good Presence; the Horse he rode on was very fine, his Attendance numerous; he was going to Court to be marry'd, and had with him for State a mighty Elephant, well adorn'd with Clothes and Bells. This was the second I had seen till that time; whenever we stop'd, I would draw near to take a full view of him. This I did particularly one afternoon and as soon as I came near him, his Governor[1] spoke one word to him which I did not understand; but the Consequence show'd what he had said, for he presently fac'd me, and made a profound Reverence, bowing all his four-feet at once; I saw them give him Meat and Drink. It hap'ned a Native, without reflecting on it, was going to pass before him; as he came up the Elephant stretch'd out his Trunk, and gently gave him a blow on the Forehead, which sounded like a good cuff on the Ear. The

[1] Span. *Cornaca*: 'one that governs an Elephant' (Stevens, *Dictionary*).

Man's colour chang'd, and he stagger'd backward a good way as if he had been beside himself. Our laughing brought him to himself, and he passed by keeping well off from that Mountain of Flesh. I fancy'd the Elephant thought it unmannerly to go by so near him, and therefore he friendly warn'd the Man to look before he leap'd. I was much astonish'd at that action which I had seen with my own eyes.

10. After this we came to a mighty River. The day before the Ferry-Boat had been lost for they had swam an Elephant over, ty'd to the Boat and he growing angry, carry'd the Boat down the River; then he got to the shore, broke the Rope, and ran about the Fields; his Driver went to catch him, but the Elephant being still in a fury, took hold of him with his Trunk, cast him up into the Air, of which he died. There were two other Ferry boats there, and the comicallest that can be imagin'd for they were round wicker Baskets, cover'd without with Cows Hides. We hired one and put in all our Baggage, more People came up, and fourteen Passengers of us went into it; the Horse and Ox swam, we holding by the Halters; we struck aslant over, and sail'd a quarter of a League whilst one might say the Creed three or four times. The Current was violent, we all quak'd for fear, and were cram'd together without the least motion. We landed, I paid our Passage, the Owner took his Basket-Boat out of the Water, and clapping it on his head, walk'd up the River to carry over to the Town others that waited for him.

11. Four Leagues short of the Court we stop'd at a great Town which they call the Queen's Palace.[1] The Mother or Grandmother of the King then reigning, had built that sumptuous Palace, from which the Town took its name. We could not go in, but the Front and all we could see of it might vie with the best in Europe: Before it is a Square which is not inferior to any in Spain; those of Barajas or Lerma are not better. We went into a most beautiful and spacious Court almost square; in the midst of which was a stone Mosque well built, with a fine Porch before it. The

[1] The Tenara (Sarūrnagar) referred to by Tavernier, I, 139–40, 240. J. de Thevenot also saw it (*The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. Surendranath Sen (New Delhi, 1949), 146); almost nothing remains of it now.

Court is like a Cloister, arch'd all round except where the Gates interrupt it. At every six foot distance there are stone Arches, and in the hollow of the six foot there is a fine Cell within vaulted like the rest, and all white as Snow. I counted 118 Cells in all, well contriv'd, and curious and exact Windows and Doors. The Floor was of very hard Plaister; those Rooms were for the King's Followers, when they came thither to divert themselves. The Square was in the same nature, but had a Story above, which the Court had not.

12. In one Corner there was a Door which led to a large and deep Pond cut out of the said Rock, with Stairs cut in the same Stone to go down for Water; all we Passengers drank that Water; I don't doubt but what we saw cost many Millions. I would have seen the Mosque, but as I was going in a Moor came out, who was ready to throw me down the Stairs; so I dissembled and desisted from my Plan. Before I came to this Town, and from thence to Court, I took notice of another thing of which the Portuguese had given me a hint, and was, that I saw several parcels of Horses, Mules and Asses, loaded with the Tuba of the Palm-Trees I have mentioned, all running as fast as they could; and the Drivers, who strain'd their Hearts, took care with their Lashes that the Beasts should not stop a moment. This they do that the Liquor may arrive sweet and not turn sower; abundance of it is consum'd at Court, especially the Mahometan Women drink much of it. The Drink is extremely pleasant, it would take more money at Madrid than Mead or Sherbet. Those People say the King's greatest Revenue comes out of it.

13. To save time and charges we did not go through a great Gate of the Court; all that come in through these Gates, wait for leave from some Great Men, all they carry is search'd and they pay duties. I was not concern'd for the search, tho something must be always given. We went almost two Leagues round-about, which was a great trouble; nevertheless we past three Custom-houses, but they said not a word to us. Being come to the fourth, they talk'd big to us and made threats but were satisfy'd with a few Pence. Half a League further we came to the place where they sold Horses, there was a pleasant Grove, divided by four large and

spacious Walks, in which were abundance of People, and very fine Horses, which they rode about to show them. Then we past a River, and saw a multitude of People on the Bank; we drew near, and it prov'd to be the Funeral of a young Woman, who lay bare-fac'd on the Bier, very well set out and adorn'd with Flowers; next to the Corps were Musicians and Dancers. There was one (perhaps the Husband) whose Body was dy'd of several Colours, and he skip'd and made a thousand motions. Other Antient Peoples used to weep when a Child was born, and rejoice at its death; and those we saw here were doing this last. Finally we came to a little Church, where one, Martinez, a Portuguese Priest[1] resided; he receiv'd me with all possible kindness, and great tokens of affection. There I rested a little, but not so much as I had need.

[1] One of the Portuguese secular priests who conducted the two Catholic churches in Golconda; see fuller details in Carré, 350.

CHAPTER XXII

MY STAY AT GOLCONDA, AND JOURNEY TO MUSULAPATAN [MASULIPATAM]

1. I was inform'd there was in those parts one Don Felix Enriquez, a Native of Madrid, whom I had been acquainted with in the Apothecaries Shop in St Pauls Monastery in Valladolid, tho I could not call to mind his Name. He was Physician and Surgeon to the King's Army there. I presently sent him a Note, his Answer was very civil and next day I went to his House. It is a long League from the City to the Forts, where the King is always close for fear of his Subjects, as I was told.[1] The Road, besides its being very plain and broad, was so full of People, that there were scarce more in the Cities of China, all of them clad as white as Snow, most afoot, several in half Coaches, half Carts, drawn by Oxen, and well cover'd, and many on Mules; some Persians and Moors excellently mounted, and well attended. Some Great Men were carry'd in rich and sightly Palanquines; instead of Umbrelloes they use large Shields gilt and painted of several Colours, the Servants carry them on their Arms, and lifting them up defend their Masters from the Sun. They carry Plumes of Peacocks Feathers with the Quills stuck in Silver, which they serve to drive the Flys away, they are properly Fans. All the European Captains and Factors in those Countrys make the same use of those Feathers. It all look'd to me like Court-grandeur. There were about that place abundance of great and lesser Elephants, I was much diverted with the sight of them, and

[1] 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh (1626–72) was almost an imbecile who spent his time devising ingenious ways of gratifying his sensual tastes; after 1656, when an attempt was made to assassinate him, he was afraid to leave his palace (*The Cambridge History of India*, IV (Cambridge, 1937), 253).

admir'd their motion; I rode upon a good Horse, and had much ado to keep up with their walk.

2. I took notice that there was abundance of People on the one side of the way, and that more continually flock'd to them. I ask'd the Black that went with me, what it meant? He answer'd, 'Father, the Saints of this Country are there.' I drew near, and saw they were Men quite naked, as if they had liv'd in the state of Innocence; perhaps they were Adamites. Their Habitations were on certain Mountains, whence those Men came down at certain times to beg Alms, and walk'd among the People stark naked, like brute Beasts. When I return'd to the Church I saw them again, and Women looking at them very devoutly. Presently I discover'd sumptuous Palaces and beautiful Towers and Pinnacles all cover'd with Lead. The Palace of Segovia is not more beautiful, I admir'd nothing so much in that Country and methought I was looking upon Madrid. I came up to the great Fort where the King's Apartment is; I went not in, but it had a fine outside, and look'd great, the Walls were strong and stor'd with Cannon, the Situation high, the Ditches wide and deep. They told me the King had 900 Concubines within there, and among them the Portuguese Woman of St Thomas I mention'd above.[1] Next I met some Portugueses who were awaiting me; many of them serve in that King's Army for Bread. They carry'd me to Don Felix's House, which was very little, low and inconvenient, like the rest of the Commonalty. He receiv'd me very lovingly and truly, I knew him again, tho I had not seen him in twenty four Years, he had a good mark to be known by. He gave me an account of his Life; he had been Physician to the Dutch in Ceylon and marry'd there; left his Wife at Columbo, and went over to Madrastapatan; was there Physician to the English, and then went to Golconda, where he receiv'd the King's *mucharra*, that is, Pay, amounting to twenty Pieces of Eight a Month, besides what he made of his Salves. Hard by was a mighty Army commanded by the Great Nababo, (that is as much as the Great Duke of that

[1] 900 concubines is not an exaggerated number; some years earlier an English account attributed 4 wives and 'at least 1000 concubines' to a king of Golconda (W. H. Moreland (ed.), *Relations of Golconda* (London, 1931), 10).

Kingdom) he was an Eunuch and Man of great Parts, he govern'd all; the King kept in his Mahomet's Paradise among Women, Musick, Dancing and other Sports, all unbecoming the duty of a King.[1] It is a shameful thing, says St Thomas (*de Erudit. Princ.* lib. I, cap. 10), that he who is Lord over others, should be a slave to his Senses. And talking of Musick, he tells how Antigonus, Master or Preceptor to Alexander the Great, broke his Lute, and said, 'He that is of age to reign, may be asham'd to be subject to these Passions.' The Saint has much that is very good to this purpose. The King of Golconda lives in worldly pleasures and pastimes, without the least regard to the Government, having committed the whole charge of it to the Great Nababo. What can this King expect but what Job says, 'They take the Timbrel and Harp, and rejoyce at the sound of the Organ: They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to Hell'? The moment that puts an end to their Pleasures, begins their eternal torments. What an unhappy and wretched case: The same will befall all that follow such a course. There cannot be a double glory, that of the Life to come is not the consequence of the worldly. The words of Tertullian are common: 'After gall, the honey-comb.' What can be the consequences of Dancing, Musick, Plays, Feasting, and the pleasures of this Life, but the neglect of one's duty, forgetfulness of ones soul; and in the future, calamities? The Chinese is much more vigilant and careful of the Government, and if he forgets himself, they mind and reprove him. Two Years before this, one of the Nababo's Teeth dropt out, he sent it with 6000 Ducats to Mecca an Offering to Mahomet's Bones. At this time another dropt out, and it was reported he would send it with 6000 more. He order'd a Temple to be built, which I saw, but it was not yet finish'd, because they said he had dream'd he should die when the Building was finish'd, so he order'd the Work to cease. He was then ninety Years of age, pay'd the Souldiers punctually, and gave the

[1] Nababo is the Portuguese form of the Hindustani word *Nawāb*; the post was equivalent to that of Chief Minister, Viceroy, or Provincial Governor; the holder in Navarrete's time was Rizā Kulī, who was given the office and title of Neknam Khān in 1663; he died in 1672.

Persians great Wages. In that Country there is abundance of very fine Silver, and they say abundance of rich Diamonds, I was assur'd the Mahometans gave above fifty thousand Ducats for some.

3. I discours'd Don Felix about my Journey to Goa, he represented it very easy; others objected difficulties, and no doubt but there were enough, especially in going from one Kingdom to another. Next day I said Mass in a Chappel the Portuguese Souldiers and some Mungrels and Blacks had there. They gave me to understand it would please them I should stay there three Months, till it were time to go away to Goa, and they offer'd to assist me according to their power, which was small. I had certainly stay'd there, had not what I shall write presently hapned, and I believe it had gone very ill with me. I went that Afternoon to see the Dutch Factor, for whom I had a Letter.[1] I went on Don Felix his Horse, which was better than mine. I again observ'd what I had seen before, and again was astonish'd at the multitude and diversity of People. I cross'd all the Capital City, which is very large, and in it at small distances excellent Buildings, and innumerable multitudes of People. The great Square was very beautiful; the Royal Palace, an admirable Structure, fills one side of it. They show'd me a Glaz'd Balcony, and told me the King sometimes shew'd himself there to his Subjects.[2] It was a long time before I came to the Dutch Factory. Those Men had a fine Palace there, and richly furnish'd.[3] The Factor was a Mungrel begot on a Japonese Woman, and show'd it in his carriage. We discours'd a while with a great deal of coldness on his side; the European Hollanders did not serve me so, and this appear'd presently, for within half an hour another Dutchman came out of a Room who was infinitely obliging; he gave me Cha of China to drink, and some of the Wine they made there, he courteously shew'd me the Orchards, Gardens, and a stately Bath. There I was inform'd of the great modesty and reserv'dness of the Women

[1] The Dutch Factor was Willem Karel Hartsink (1663–77); see Valentyn, v, pt. i, 35.

[2] For a description of this ceremony at which the King administered Justice see Tavernier, I, 125.

[3] Further details in Carré, 348.

of that Country, not much inferior to that of China, as they told me. A great shame for European Christian Women.

4. When I took my leave he ask'd me, Whether I had visited the French that were in that City?[1] I answer'd I had not, nor thought of it because I knew none of them, nor had any business with them. He earnestly desir'd me to visit them. I did all I could to excuse my self, but still he urg'd it. I, to avoid that visit not knowing that therein my Luck then consisted, said, 'Sir, I neither know their House nor have I any Body to conduct me to it.' 'I'll send a Servant of mine', said he, 'to wait upon the Father, and show him the House.' There was no withstanding it any longer, I went thither directly, they receiv'd me with singular kindness and affection; brought out fruit of Persia, Dates, Almonds, Raisons, and other things of the Country. They treated me well, I thank'd them, and bid them farewell but they would not suffer me to be gone so we held on our discourse. The Director spoke good Spanish for he had been several times at Cadiz, and indeed had carry'd millions of Pieces of Eight from thence into France, and told me how he dealt with our Ships and with the People ashore. It is a shame to see the way many of our Officers manage the King's business. He freely offer'd me passage in his Ship as far as Suratte [Surat], and thence into Europe, with all the accommodation his People could afford me. I went back to lie at the Church, and he sent me in his Palanquine with twenty four Servants to attend me. Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to Goa, and how that difficulty every day increas'd, because a Rebel whose name was Subagi [Shivājī] rang'd those Countrys with a powerful Army, I made those Gentlemen a second visit, and finding a fit opportunity accepted of the favour they offer'd me.[2] They assur'd me they had orders from their King to be assisting to the Missioners, and that they went to India for that purpose. There is no doubt but the end is very good and holy.

[1] For an account of the French factories in India see Sottas and Kaeppelin.

[2] Many of the early travellers refer to Shivājī as a bandit; in fact, he was the leader of the Hindu reaction to Muslim rule in India and under him the Marathas rose. Already in 1664 he had assumed the title of Rājā (for which, see Philips, 54) and was issuing coins in his own name.

5. We left the Royal City on the 28th of July, there went twenty two Carts loaden with Goods and Necessaries for the Journey, six Officers of the Company a-Horseback, four stately Persian led Horses with rich Furniture each with its Groom.[1] One of the Horses dy'd by the way, that had cost 500 Pieces of Eight: we had four Colours, four Trumpets, four Waits, two Kettle-Drums, sixty Servants, and five Palanquines, with five or six Men to carry each of them; it was a Train for a King. We cross'd a wide but shallow River, there were a great many Elephants washing in it. We observ'd with how much ease those Mountains of Flesh tumbled in the Water and lightly started up again. All the Carts were cover'd with Oil'd Cloths, so that not a drop of Rain-water came through. The Palanquines had the same Covering. There is no such easy and restful way of Travelling in the World. We past through the middle of the Royal City with all that Noise, Attendance and Musick, and went to lie at a stately Orchard. Half a League of the way was among fine Trees, the rest of the way very plain and easy. We came to a Noble Stone-palace, which had beautiful Halls, Rooms, and Balconies, and much Ornament in several curious Niches, with several Figures of Plaister and Stone. The Orchard was vastly big, full of abundance of Fruit-Trees and innumerable Oranges and Lemmons. The Walks were wide and very clean, with Ponds at distances, and Water-works continually playing; it appear'd to me a place fit for any Prince. Two days we stay'd there, and spent the time in observing with attention, what I have writ with brevity.

6. My Company carry'd good Provisions and Plenty, which made the way easy to me, and made amends for the want I endur'd in my Journey to the Royal City, whence we now came. One Morning we came to a place, where there was the Liquor of Palms. I spoke of it in the last Chapter; we drank to our hearts content, it was as cold as Ice, and sweeter than Honey; it did us much good, for it purg'd us to excellent purpose. We past over a mighty River with some trouble, but on the further side found the

[1] Among these officers were Goujon and Francis Martin, the 'Founder of Pondichery', whose *Mémoires* frequently corroborate Navarrete's narrative. Both were particularly kind to Navarrete.

best Olaves in the World, for a Penny a Pound. It is incredible what quantities of delicate painted and plain Calicoes there were in every Town, they came out to the Roads to offer and press us to buy.[1]

7. In every Town we found Women that play'd on Musick and danced. There are certain Women there, who alone can follow this Trade, for which they pay a duty to the King. When any Guests of note come, they presently repair to their House, make their Obeisance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dress'd, and had Gold and Silver enough about them, spent two, or three hours in this Exercise, were well paid, and went their ways. I was seldom present at these Entertainments, but indeed they were worth seeing and hearing.

8. It was also very common to meet with many Tumblers that show'd Tricks of Activity; they have no settled place of abode, but ramble up and down like Gypsies. Sometimes we met them under the Trees in the Field, sometimes near Towns in the Wicker Barracks which they always carry about with them. As soon as they see any likely People, they make to them, and offer to show their Activity; then they set up their Sticks and Canes, and play wonderful Tricks. Both the Men and Women would certainly be much admir'd in Europe. Two Women, one old and the other young, did such things in a Town, as amaz'd us all. One Man besides many strange Tricks, took a Stone betwixt his Teeth; his Companions threw others up, which he catch'd in his mouth without ever missing a jot; afterwards he lay'd it upon one eye, and on it receiv'd the other that fell from above, and never miss'd in all the time. Another thing astonish'd us yet more, and we thought the Devil had a hand in it.[2] He ty'd a Stone, of about a quarter of an hundred weight to a stick, which had another

[1] 'Painted' calicoes (sometimes called 'Paintings') were hand-printed cloths (*EF*, new series, II, 30, 99; *Hobson-Jobson*, 713).

[2] Others, too, suspected the Devil's influence: 'when he [an English Chaplain] saw that from a piece of dry wood these people in less than half an hour had caused a tree of four or five feet in height, with leaves and flowers, as in springtime, to appear, he insisted on breaking it, and proclaimed loudly that he would never administer the communion to any one who witnessed such things in future' (Tavernier, I, 55).

cross it; he alone, laying hold of the Stick with one hand, held up the Stone in the air, and kept it without the least motion; then he put together eight or ten Men, and gave them the Stick to hold as he had done, and they could never bear it up tho they put all their strength to it, but the Stone bore them all down. We could never find out what art that Black us'd to do that which we saw with our eyes.

9. There is another sort of Men, who make a trade of carrying about Snakes that dance; they are ridiculously dress'd, wear Feathers on their heads, and little Bells about their Body, all naked but their Privy-parts, and daub'd with Red Oaker and several other Colours. They carry a little Trumpet in their hand, and two Baskets cover'd on their shoulders full of hideous Snakes; they go where they are call'd, open their Baskets, and as the Trumpet sounds the Snakes rise, using several motions with their Bodies and Heads; sometimes they cling to their Master's Arm or Thigh, and set their Teeth in it. I saw one of them whose Body was all over as if it had been pink'd by the Snakes, he looked a Sieve. A strange way of getting their Living! At first it was dreadful to me to see that Dancing. They give them a Half-penny or a penny, the Snakes return to their Baskets, and away they go. I observ'd several times, that as soon as they catch'd and laid them in the Basket, they roll'd themselves up, and remain'd immovable; and tho they open'd the Basket, they never stirr'd without the Trumpet sounded. Some were thicker than a Man's Wrist, they said those that carry'd them were anointed with the Juice of several Herbs, so that even if they bit they could do no harm. There are others who have Dancing Cows, and get their Living by them.

10. One Night we lay in an Idol-Temple, one of the beautifulest in the World; it had Jasper-stone and Marble, as curiously wrought as any in Italy, and three Chappels dedicated to three Gods. There were in it some Cows cut in Stone as black as Jet, and as lively as possible. The Priest came to us, and we discours'd him with the help of some Servants of the French Company, who spoke several Languages. He gave a very bad account of the Origin of those three Gods, made them all Men, and said they came thither upon the Waters of the Sea from very far Countrys,

and had produc'd the World. We objecting how it could be made out that they had produced the World when there was before them a Sea, and other Countries from whence they came thither? He answer'd, 'It was so written in their Books.' Speaking of the Parents of his Gods, he asserted they were of other Countrys; and we answering, 'Then there were Men before those Gods'; he laugh'd and said, 'I say nothing but what is in this Book.' Two Leagues short of Musulapatan we found a great many French Men in a noble Orchard, expecting their Director and Companions. There was Musick, Dancing, and a plentiful Entertainment. That Afternoon we went into the City, it was the 8th of August, past over a Wooden-bridg, little less than half a League in length, a wonderful crowd of People came out to see us, English, Dutch, Persians, Armenians, Portugueses, Mungrels, Mahometans, Gentiles, Blacks and Natives, were all Spectators. The Factory was a stately large House, the People many in number. There was a great confusion that Night, however we had some rest.[1]

[1] Martin sets the date of arrival as the 7th; and, unless the journey was inordinately slow, he is probably right. Normally it only took 8–10 days. Amongst those who met them at Masulipatam was Francis Dandron (*'gran cauallero frances'*: *C* 402) a gentleman from Dauphiné, infantry captain and tourist (Carré, 345; F. Martin, *Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry* [1665–96], ed. A. Martineau (Paris, 1931–4), I, 145–6, 271).

CHAPTER XXIII

MY STAY AT MUSULAPATAN

1. The City Musulapatan is famous all along the Coast of Coromandel, it is seated 60 Leagues North of Madrasta, a very populous place, and of great Trade. The English and Dutch, and at present the French have considerable Factories there. Some Years ago besides these the Danes had one too. Some Portugueses, Mungrels and Blacks, who are Catholicks, live there, and have a little Church where there was a Father of the Order of St Augustin. Some English and Dutch, who have discharg'd themselves from their Companies, have setled there, and live with their Families. The Climate is very bad and unhealthy. They said, the Heat from April till August was intolerable. All that Country abounds in Wheat, Rice, Sheep, Hens, Geese, Fish, and Fruit, all at reasonable Rates. I stay'd with my Chinese in the French Factory, where I said Mass to them every Day, and din'd and sup't at their Table; they treated me in Health and in a small Sickness I had there with extraordinary Care, Love and Kindnesses. Afterwards some French Men fell sick; and I assisted them with a great deal of Care and good Will. The Ship that was to sail for Suratte [the *Couronne*] lay 6 Leagues lower at Rosipor, it was to be sheath'd and they had not yet began to work upon it, which troubled me extremely, and I repented my leaving the Portuguese Ship, which I was inform'd was bound for Goa.

2. There were in the Factory abundance of Monkeys, which serv'd to divert us; sometimes they would be as furious as Lions, sometimes they play'd, and did a thousand Tricks. After Dinner, they commonly carry'd them to a large Pond in the middle of a great Court. It was pleasant to see what pranks they play'd there, they swam just like Men, and would leap into the Water, dive and come up again exactly like them. They had also a little Deer,

which a Servant fed with Milk, he once amaz'd us all. The Servant came into the Court, the Deer saw, and immediately went to him; it was beyond all belief how he made much of and caress'd him; he would leap up on both Sides, lick his Hands and Feet, and put his Nose to the Mans Face, all Tokens of Gratitude for the kindness he receiv'd from him. Good God, how wild and even savage Beasts teach us Gratitude! Frier Mascarenhas, the Augustinian, kept the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady [8 September] and the Octave, and it was perform'd with all imaginable Solemnity; all the Catholicks resorted to it, and I gave a Sermon. About that time there arriv'd Ships loaded with Elephants. One Mahometan Merchant alone brought 30 in one Ship, which is a mighty Stock; they carry them up the Country, where they sell them at great Rates and get much by them.

3. There were two Directors in the Factory; one whose name was Macara, an Armenian, had been at Rome, Florence and Paris. This Man procur'd the setling the Factory at Golconda, under the same Privileges the Dutch and English enjoy'd; He was a Catholick, and had a Son and Nephew both Catholicks. The other was a French Man of the Territory of Roan [Rouen], his name Francis Gouxon [Goujon]; he had Orders from the Director General residing at Suratte, to apprehend Macara, on account of Expences he had made. The latter being a Stranger, and those who had been his Friends become his Enemies, because he knew not how to preserve their Friendship, every Body was against him, which he was sensible of, and therefore was jealous, and fearful of what happen'd. He might have prevented it by staying at Golconda among his Countrymen and Mahometans of Note, who had a kindness for him. I told him so afterwards, he was sensible of his Error, and all his repentance could not mend it. In short, upon St Matthew's Day [21 September] after baptizing a Godson of his with great Solemnity, they seiz'd him with a great deal of Noise, and seiz'd his Son. Macara's Servants fled, and gave an account of what had happened to the Moorish Governor of the City [Muhammad Beg]. The French immediately sent Advice to the Captain of their Ship [*Couronne*] to be upon his Guard, and it stood them in good stead, for without it

the Ship had fallen into the Governour's Hands. Next Day the latter sent 300 Men commanded by the Supreme Civil Magistrate to beset the Factory, hinder any Provisions from being carry'd in, and by that oblige them to set Macara at Liberty. The French took up Arms, which was a rashness in a strange Country, where they had no Force, nor so much as a Ship in the Harbour. They fell to Blows; a handsom young French Man, and good Christian, was kill'd, and another much wounded.[1] Of the infidels four or five were slain and several wounded; this made a great uproar. The Governour seeing the fury and resolution of the French, caus'd his Men to draw off, and sent to acquaint his King ['Abdullah Qutb Shāh] with what had hapned; the French sent too. Whilst the Answer came back, they arm'd themselves very well, and provided Fire Arms, which some English and other Friends lent them underhand. The Moorish Governour was now all for composing the matter, and would have had them send me or some Persons of Note to his House to treat with him. The French were afraid to trust him. As for me, they answer'd I was a Spaniard, and no way concern'd nor understood that Affair. It was fear'd they might attack us in the Night, and fire the House. I was not a little concern'd for it, but much more to see my Voyage, which I was so eager upon, obstructed.

4. The French Factory Director [Goujon] was indispos'd, those Troubles made him worse, so that in eight Days he dy'd on Michaelmas Day [29 September] having receiv'd the Sacrament.[2] I lost more than any Man, because he had a particular kindness for me. I was also much oblig'd to him that succeeded in the Post [Martin]. His Funeral was great; First went two Horses in Mourning, then the Kettledrums and Trumpets making a doleful Sound, above 100 Servants, Portugueses with Lights in their Hands; I accompanied the Corps along with only one French

[1] The dead man was a clerk called Fromentin; the other, Martin, 'was shott in the brest with a barbed arrow but we suppose not mortall' (*EF*, new series, II, 203). Martin (I, 275) estimates the number of the enemy at 150.

[2] Martin (I, 272; 274) says he was sick of a tertian fever; gives the death-date as 28th (I, 280); and describes the funeral (I, 281). The English Factors reported his death as 18th (*EF*, new series, II, 203) since they were still following the 'old style', or Julian, calendar.

Man, for the rest stay'd to secure the House and themselves; the Dutch and English attended the Funeral. The Body was left in the Church till eight at Night. The Tide flow'd, and we went over in Boats to an Island, which is the Catholick Burying place. Those People will not allow any to be buried in Towns.

5. The Kings Answer came [8 October] he order'd no words should be made about those that had been kill'd on both sides, and that the French if they pleas'd might carry away Macara, but should pay what he ow'd, which amounted to 2000 Ducats Silver. Several odd things hapned during that time, which I would write if I had more patience. The Country is singular, and there being such diversity of Nations, there falls out some things new every Day, today among the Persians, tomorrow among the Armenians, another day among the Moors, &c.[1] That City resembles Babel in the variety of Tongues, and differences of Garbs and Customs, but I lik'd the natives who were all good Men it seemed to me. I sometimes went to the Church, which was a considerable distance from the Factory, met several sorts of People by the way, and they were all courteous and civil. I talk'd with some English and Dutch, visited them because it was necessary, and found them very obliging in Words, and some no less in their Works. Two came to take their leave, the Night we went aboard; one of them took me aside, we talk'd a long while, he offer'd me all his Interest at Suratte; when we were parting, he said to me with much Humility and Submission, 'Father, I know I am a Heretick; but I beg the Favour of your Blessing.' I was surpriz'd and answer'd, 'Sir, if you are Heretick and design to continue so, why would you have my Blessing?' He reply'd, 'That's true, Father; but for all that I beg you will grant me this Satisfaction.' He press'd very earnestly, I gave him my Blessing, spoke a few little words to him, which he requited by embracing me, and went his way. I heard them censure some Churchmen. We ought all of us to be very cautious of our carriage among such People, for they note and censure every Action. They told me two passages, one of them but very trivial, at which they were very much

[1] European travellers usually described Asian Christians, including Greeks and Syrians, as 'Armenians'; Europeans themselves were called 'Franks' by Orientals.

scandaliz'd; but they do not reflect upon their own heinous Faults they commit every Day; yet this is no excuse for us, who ought so to order our Lives that they, seeing our Actions, might glorify God the Author and Cause of all Good.

6. It pleas'd God our Ship came [the *Couronne*, 15 October]; in two Days all was ship'd aboard tho' I had thought it would have taken up eight at least; the Weather was calm, which help'd to expedite our Business. On the 17th of October, at eleven at Night, we went aboard; I had a Hand in getting three Portugueses in. The Night was so dark, we had much ado to find the Ship. That very Night we sail'd, all of us well pleas'd to leave that unhealthy Country, and draw near to Europe.[1] From that place according to the course we took, it is above 6000 Leagues. Being upon a fresh Voyage, it is requisite to begin a new Chapter.

[1] Martin, however, gives the time of departure as dawn on the 20th (I, 283, 287, 288).

CHAPTER XXIV

MY VOYAGE TO SURAT, AND OTHER REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

1. In the way from Golconda, I heard several disputes concerning matters of our Religion between French Men, I took them to be all Catholicks; I never heard disputes on this subject among Spaniards or Portugueses. Several Reports went concerning Macara; some maintain'd he was half a Mahometan, others that they did not know what Religion he was of.[1] He always own'd himself a Catholick to me, and so heard Mass, and said the Rosary, but upon several occasions he said to me, 'Father, whilst I took care to serve God, and perform'd the Duty of a Christian, God assisted me, and I throve, but declin'd when I fell off; it is some time since I neglected all things that belong to a Christian, and therefore I believe God has punish'd me, and I am now in Irons.' Hence I took occasion to comfort and exhort him to patience in his Sufferings. They treated him too cruelly, not allowing him the means of defending himself. They examin'd and laid things to his Charge, and extract'd a Confession of him with four Pistols at his Breast; he answer'd, not the Truth, but what they would have him say, as he own'd to me. The General Director [Caron] was his mortal Enemy, his Judg—and a great Heretick.

2. There was a Youth in the Factory, whose name was Portal, all the rest look'd upon him as proud and haughty, and I had grounds to believe him so. He contracted Friendship with me, and

[1] For a French view of Macara see Martin (1, 262 ff., 272 ff.), who declared (1, 288) that, by a false show of piety, *'s'attira la compassion de plusieurs personnes pieuses'*, and, typically, the Armenian quickly found his way to Navarrete's heart (C 35). English reports, like the French, give no good account of Macara: 'a fellow as it doth appear of more subtlety than honesty' who had 'played his Game soe sophister like' (Report in IOL, Original Correspondence, 5 Mas. 41). For the end of the affair see Martin, 1, 288–91. See also P. Kaeppelin, *Les Origines de l'Inde française* (Paris, 1908), 48–9.

told me many things I was no way concern'd with. He was a good Grammarian, lov'd reading, had some Books, and among them Macchiavel and Bodin, which he study'd more than the rest.[1] He was for reducing all Religion to Policy, as the Chineses, and these two Authors do. I often told him my mind friendly, (and sometimes hastily and in anger) for I thought him ill grounded in matters of Faith. At Suratte he went aboard a Ship that had no Chaplain, and dy'd by the way to Madagascar, where the Ship took Harbour, as ours did. I was much troubl'd at it, but something comforted, because they told me he had prepar'd himself for Death.

3. I often heard it said at Musulapatan, that the French own'd no Superior but their King and God. (It had been better to put God first, then mention the King.) But they were put out of countenance and stopp'd short by my arguments. I said to them, 'Then, Gentlemen, you are Schismaticks for you don't recognise the Pope, Head of the Church, Vicar of Christ, Successor of St Peter.' They couldn't escape my Charge, and knew not how to distinguish between spiritual and civil, but answer'd they did in 'some things, but not like you Spaniards, who tremble before the Pope and his Censures'. 'A great Honour for my Nation, Gentlemen,' says I, 'and Proof of how Catholic and loyal Sons of the Church are we.'

4. Some Divines at Paris in May 1614 sign'd the following Propositions. 1. That the King of France holds his Dominions of God and the Sword only. 2. That the King in his Dominions owns no Superior but God. 3. That the Pope cannot interdict the King, nor absolve his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. 4. That the Pope has no Authority Direct or Indirect, Mediate or Immediate, Coactive or Coercive over the King, upon any account whatsoever. The document, in a fair Hand, I saw in an important Archive in Rome.

[1] Even Religious with the widest privileges (e.g. power to absolve sins reserved to the Pope, permission to wear lay-dress, and to read prohibited books) were forbidden 'Macchiavel' (Friar Michael Angelo of Gattina, 'A Voyage to the Congo, 1666–7', in Churchill, *Collection*, I (London, 1704), 613). All the more serious, therefore, the later Jesuit accusation that Navarrete's *Tratados* contained 'more Aids to Atheism than all those in Bodin and Macchiavel' (Cortés Osorio, 36).

5. One Molfese (the French always use Sirnames only) said in my hearing, that God was cruel in making the Pains of Hell everlasting; and why should he condemn to them for Sins of the Flesh, which were natural to Man?[1] And that since Man in comparison with God was less than an Ant, why should he be offended at them? And tho they offended, why should he damn them eternally? I was much provok'd, and told him my mind, but less than he deserv'd. He said he was a Catholick, and his Father a Heretick, but his words prov'd him a Liar, as to what he said of himself. Many of them learn Grammar, and then thrust themselves into higher Sciences. The Quality of a Grammarian, says Spondanus, is Pride, that sets them against God himself, which is the Property of that horrid Vice. There was an antient Error, that God did not punish Sensuality, and this Molfese follow'd it. St Paul, Heb. 13, condemns it, 'Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judg.' Read St Thomas on this place, lect. 1. For the rest this Frenchman would revive Origen's Error, who said, the Pains of Hell will have an end; which Christ condemns, saying 'They shall go into everlasting Fire.' Even the Hereticks of these times do not maintain the extravagancies that Man did.

6. It is fit to say something of the Great Mogol. He that now reigns put his Father in Prison, where he dy'd and he usurp'd the Crown.[2] This Man has a Son who governs a Province eight Days Journey from Golconda, towards Bengala [Bengal], which properly belongs to the Prince, who designs to follow the example his Father set him, and get all into his own Hands.[3] Antony Coello a Portuguese, who had serv'd under him, told me he had already 200000 Horse and 300000 Foot.[4] A brave Army,

[1] Malfosse: the French Factor at Masulipatam.

[2] Aurangzīb imprisoned his father, Shāh Jahān, in Agra fort where he died in 1666. Aurangzīb had succeeded him with the imperial title of 'Alamgīr in 1658.

[3] Muhammad Mu'azzam, Aurangzīb's second son, was the Viceroy of the Deccan with the title of Shāh 'Alam. In 1687 his father, suspecting him of treachery, had him imprisoned. Other writers (e.g. Manucci) hold that the Prince's rebellion was feigned in order to trap Shivājī but there was widespread belief in his having rebelled against his father. The Prince later succeeded his father with the title of Bahādur Shāh (1707–12).

[4] Possibly the Manoel Coelho, 'one of those Portuguese who know neither God nor eternity', mentioned by Manucci (I, 370; II, 87–8; IV, 429). The Jesuit critic,

if they are as brave as they are many. He designs to join in League with the Rebel Subagi, who is very great and powerful. I mention'd in another place how he attack'd the Territory of Goa, and carry'd away two or 3000 Christians and a Franciscan. He sent an Ambassador to demand of the Viceroy of Goa, to make good a Ship of his the Portuguese had taken. The Viceroy was in a passion, and beat his Ambassador, an Action no Body could approve of. Don Duarte, the English Governour of Madrastapatan, told me that Infidel would make War upon Goa by Sea and Land, and make Slaves of all the Portuguese Men and Women he could light of.[1] Subagi may do it, and the Mogol better, but he will not take such small things in hand, and it is the King of Golconda who is more to be fear'd, because Coromandel and all those Coasts are subject to him. This being a considerable point, I sent an account of it by several ways to Goa and Madrasta.[2]

7. I heard much of the Kingdom of Bengala as to its Fruitfulness and Plenty of Corn, Rice, Sheep, Cows, Fruit, Silk, and Cotton. This Country, as I said, belongs to the great Mogol's eldest Son. There are in it Fathers of the Order of St Augustin, who administer to the Portuguese, and Mungrels. Some of these latter are of Note, and wear the Badge of the Order of Knighthood of Christ, but are basely us'd by the Natives, for the least matter they drive them to Prison with a Cudgel. There are also Indians of

Cortés Osorio (99), perhaps generalizing from reports of Southern India, asserted 'horses are not bred in India' ; in fact, Navarrete's figures are credible, for as early as 1647 the imperial army had included 200,000 horse (*Cambridge*, 316; W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: an economic study* (London, 1920), 75–7, 95, 197, 259).

[1] 'Don Duarte' was Sir Edward Winter, who, after charges of profiteering had been brought against him, rebelled in 1665 against the East India Company, imprisoned its Agent, George Foxcroft, and having usurped the government to himself, waged a private war on the Company for some years. When Navarrete met him, however, he was living quietly on his estates, the Agent having been restored to office in 1668 by the aid of a Royal Commission and an armed fleet (*DNB; EF, 1668–9*, 126–64; J. T. Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time* (Madras, 1861–2), I, 33–41).

[2] There was little to be feared from 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, as his attitude over the Macara affair had demonstrated. His successor, too, Abdul Hasan Qutb Shāh, was equally indolent and followed the traditional foreign policy of avoiding all trouble, especially with either the Mogul or Shivājī (*Cambridge*, 253).

Manila in that Country, I saw one at Musulapatan: later on I said at Lisbon, there was no need of carrying People to India because there were Infinite numbers dispers'd through those Countries, but the Secretary of State answer'd me, 'Will it be easy to bring those together that are scatter'd abroad?' I reply'd, It would not, for they all fled from Goa, where they wanted Bread; but if he would allow them a sufficient maintenance, they would rather serve their own King, than Infidels and Hereticks, as they did out of want.

8. The Mogul is a mighty Prince, his Dominions are vastly large, his People numberless, his Wealth inexhaustible. A Portuguese, who had serv'd in his Army at Agra, which is the Seat of the Court, assur'd me, he had 300,000 Horse there besides other vast Numbers. Some Years since on the same day he declar'd War against the Turks, Persians and Portugueses. What more could Alexander the Great have done? He has many tributary Kings under him; and it is not long ago that the King of Golcondar having conquer'd the Empire of Narsinga, which had been famous in those parts, the Mogol took it from him, and it still continues under his Dominion.[1] The Mogol's Dominions extend above 300 Leagues in length.

9. I was told that at Ispahan, the Persian Court, there were Missioners of the Order of St Augustin, Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins. They do no good upon the Natives, but serve the Armenians that are there, who are made very small account of. The Emperor sometimes goes out to seek his Pleasure,[2] but first orders the Armenians to repair to such or such a place; the Women stay at Home, and the Emperor goes to sport and divert himself with them. They that are grounded in the Love of God, have a good opportunity of obtaining the Crown of Martyrdom.

[1] A reference to the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, conquered by the Muslims in 1565.

[2] The Churchills' translator mistook the Span. *'sale a pecorea'* to refer to a place, and wrongly translated: 'The Emperor goes out to Pecorea.' The word *pecorea* is not in either Minsheu or Stevens. The Emperor was Shāh-Sulaimān I (1667–94), who was addicted to the pleasures of the harem and the table. The Ṣafawī dynasty ruled for over two centuries (1502–1736) and, by a corruption of their name, the Shāhs of Persia thus came to be known in Europe as 'the Sophy'.

A Capuchin Father is in great esteem at that Court, on account of the Mathematicks.[1] Let him have a care he comes not off as Father Adam did in China!

10. In the Year 1673, when I was at Rome, there came thither two Armenian Religious of my Order, who brought Letters from the Sophi of Persia and his Secretary, for his Holiness, in answer to those our Armenian Archbishop carry'd four Years before.[2] His Holiness writ to him again, thank'd him for his kind usage of Christians, and exhorted him to continue it. I read the Letter Cardinal Altieri writ to the Secretary upon the same Subject, it was in easy and elegant Latin, so finely pen'd and fairly reason'd the best Scholar would admire it.[3] The Sophi now reigning is almost always drunk; tho I was told by the French he had caus'd abundance of Vineyards and House-Vines to be destroy'd. But others say it was his Father who did this.

11. Let us now return to our Voyage. The fourth Day a furious Gust of Wind started up about Evening, but lasted a very short space; for had it held us three or four Hours, there had been an end of our Voyage. Being come to Suratte we understood by Letters brought over Land, that four Ships, which were at Anchor at Musulapatan, were cast away, and all lost that were in them. The same fate had certainly attended us, had we been near

[1] The celebrated friar Raphael du Mans (1613–96), author of *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, a learned mathematician, and superior of the Capuchins at Isfahan, spent half a century in Persia. He was praised by a number of travellers, including Manucci and Thevenot; Fryer found him 'not only Holy but Discreet and Learned . . . no Intruder on Mens Principles, when about to depart this Life, as most [priests] are' (II, 246–7). See also H. G. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia* (London, 1939), 398, 407.

[2] The Archbishop of Nakhchiwan, Matthew Hovannes, OP, (1668–74); for the Latin text of the Brief of 1668 to the Shāh, see Chick, 1302 (and a reference at 412). The reply of 1673 referred to by Navarrete is not mentioned by Chick, who lists no briefs to the Shāh between 1672 and 1683. For the background to this, see J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, ed. N. M. Penzer (London, 1927), 67–9, and Chick, 406–7; for the curious history of the Armenian Dominicans, see Chick, 410–11.

[3] The Cardinal-nephew, Paluzzo Altieri, Cardinal-Protector of the Dominicans, had taken control of affairs during the last years of Clement X's reign; the Romans said that Clement was *'Papa di nome, e il cardinal Paluzzo Altieri Papa di fatto'* (Pastor, XXXI, 443; G. de Novaes, *Elementi della storia de' sommi Pontefici* (Siena, 1802–15), X, 269).

that Coast. Every Year infallibly about that time, eight Days sooner or later, there is a terrible Storm upon that Coast, they call it Bara.[1] The Wind was spent when it came to us, and weakened by the Rain, which was our good Fortune. The eighth Day we discover'd the Island Ceylon, and for fear of the North East Winds which reign about that time, stood out to Sea a Day and a Night, and got carried out so far, that we were afterwards 11 Days before we could come in sight of the Land again, tho it was in another place. We pass'd Cape Gallo, which is in six Degrees of North Latitude; and there to the common Sorrow of us all the Wine ran out on us; and the wind, too, died so that we lay for five Days without advancing a Foot, and there we met the Ship of Macao bound for Goa, we hal'd one another with a great deal of Satisfaction. Before we could make Cape Comorin, we had furious North Winds, terrible Currents, and after all dead Calms. They made the Cape, the Water run against us like an Arrow out of a Bow. I having seen so much of the Sea, took upon me to play the Pilot, and contended to have us get in under the Shore. I argu'd, 'Who would run upon an Enemies Sword?' and that the best way was to avoid and come in with him; that there we lay opposite to that Point which did us all the mischief; that we should remove from it, and await a Wind, for since it must come from Shore, we should be so much the more to Windward. This was accordingly done; one Night a furious North East Wind blew, we were but a League and a half from the Cape, and yet so rapid is the Current we were more than five Hours in weathering it. On the 22d of November, by break of Day we had the Cape astern. The Portuguese Ship, stood so far to Sea, that we lost sight of her, and she was two Days longer a-getting clear of the Cape. The North-East Wind abated, and within two Hours we had a fresh Gale at East. A little Boat of Blacks came a head of us; our Men looking at it off the Poop, perceiv'd our Ship was running directly on a Rock that lay under Water; they were all surpriz'd, and the Wind freshned as if some Evil Spirit had sent it to destroy us all; they stood in to Shore, and in a Moment I saw the Rock

[1] Vara is the Portuguese name for the autumn monsoon winds (Dalgado, II, 404).

was a Stones-throw from the Ship. The Blacks were astonish'd, as if they had concluded we were either Blind or Mad. It seem'd as tho' God and St Cecilia had sent those Blacks to attract our attention, for had they not come we had ended our Days there.[1] Now that Rock is mark'd down in the Chart, but our Men were so joyful they had weather'd the Point, that no body took any Care or thought of it. It was very strange that as soon as ever the danger was over, the Wind ceas'd and the Sails flagg'd.

12. That afternoon a little Boat came aboard with a Dutch Man, who brought Fruit, and Stuffs, and told us abundance of News, but all prov'd false. That they call the Coast of Malabar is very pleasant and delightful, we wanted not for Fruit, Fowls, and other refreshment whilst we run along it; it lies North and South. Every Night we cast Anchor awaiting the Wind from Land, which makes it toilsom sailing along that Coast. On the 27th of the Month we lost our Anchor, the 28th at Dawn we appear'd before Coulan [Quilon] with a good Gale and the Dutch fir'd two Guns at us. On St Andrews Day we sail'd before Cochin and Calicut, where we were inform'd that the King of the Country was engag'd in a Bloody War with the Dutch. In the Night we got up to Cananor [Cannanore]. Here I might write some things memorable enough. Those who were acquainted with that Coast said, that when some Persons marry'd, the Husband carry'd his Wife before he had to do with her himself, to the King, who kept her eight Days in his Palace, making use of her at his pleasure; and that time being expir'd, the Man came for his Wife, taking it as a great Honour and Favour that his King would make use of her. In other places they carry them to the Temples of the Idolatrous Priests, and left them there the same number of Days to the same purpose; this sanctifys them, and the Husbands carry them home well pleas'd. Those Priests seem to act like the Sons of Eli, who 'lay with the Women that assembled at the Door of the Tabernacle'; but the difference was, that in India the Women and their Husbands are consenting, and look upon it as no Sin.

[1] It was 22 November; hence the reference to St Cecilia, whose feast falls upon that day.

13. When the Husband dies, the Wife must die too, but after several manners; The first is, the dead Body is burnt, and if he was a Noble Man, the Woman is seated in his Lap, and then they lay the Wood about, set Fire to it, and they are both burnt, the one dead, the other alive. The 2d manner is, the Women clasp their Arms about their dead Husband, and are burnt with him. The 3d manner is, when the Body is burning in a Pit, the Wife walks round weeping, attended by her Kindred and Friends; in the height of it one of the next Kindred thrusts her into the Pit, then they heap wood upon her, hollow and shout, and there the Wretch perishes. It is look'd upon as a great infamy not to do so. Not many Years since, as they were carrying a Woman at Rogiapur [Rajapur] near Goa to be burnt with her Husband, it hapned that some Portugueses who came to that part seeing the Train, had the Curiosity to draw near; the Woman seeing them left her People, and running embraced one of them, begging they would protect her. They did it very handsomly, defended themselves against the Infidels, and carry'd her off. She went to Goa, was instructed, baptiz'd, and marry'd to him she had fled to. She was living in the Year 1670, when I was at Goa. A most fortunate Woman![1]

14. During these Days we had some disputes aboard, and even the Pilot tried to play the Divine, asking why there were several Religious Orders in the Church?[2] What need the Pope had of Mony, since the Kings of Spain and France would support him? (A fine help this latter would give!) Why the Jews were not tolerated in Spain? Why God did not work Miracles? I answer'd sufficiently to every point, and left them muttering; but they had not a word to say, when I ask'd them, Why there were several Military Orders, and why several Heresies were tolerated in France?

15. On the 14th of December, we come to an Anchor two Leagues from Goa opposite to the Bar, because we wanted Water. It was very lucky for me and the Portugueses. We went to the

[1] On the Hindu rite of suttee or satī (widow-burning), see *Hobson-Jobson*, 878–83; Manucci and an Armenian rescued one woman, who later married the Armenian and lived in Surat (II, 97). Tavernier (I, 176n.) gives other instances; see also C. Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies* (London, 1698), 47–51.

[2] The Pilot was Dutch (C 602).

Fort they call Aguada, which is very fine, and had the best Brass Cannon in it I had ever seen. There was one piece carry'd a Bullet of 96 pounds, the French were amaz'd.[1] We spoke with the Commander, and taking our leave went up the River, which is one of the finest in the World, both the Banks being cover'd with Towns, Sightly Temples, and Lofty Palm-Trees. I stay'd in the [Dominican] College of St Thomas, which is a quarter of a League from the City. A most delightful Seat as can be imagin'd, built upon the edg of the Water. Afternoon I went up to the Monastery of our Father Saint Dominick, it may vie with the largest and Best in Europe.[2] The French said there was not the like in all France (tho' tis likely they had seen but little there); and they say they do not practise Divine Worship as much as do we Spaniards; of this there's no doubt at all. Afterwards we saw Vestments, Chalices, a rich bier to carry the Image of our Lady, with other Church stuff, which was very surprising. But what I most admir'd was an Ivory Crucifix all of one piece except the Arms, the rarest thing that can be imagin'd, not so much for the Curiosity of the Workmanship, as its Bigness; to all appearance, the Elephant Tooth that Piece was cut out of must weigh at least three Hundred weight. The Prospect of the City is very fine, and the Buildings sumptuous, but not so much as a Missioner has writ, who affirms it outdoes Rome.[3] We all went away well pleas'd and treated; the French own'd themselves oblig'd to me for the kindness those of my Order shew'd them which was greatly in my favour afterwards, but they did not like the vast Revenue they were told a certain [Religious] Family enjoy'd.[4] On

[1] The fortress of Agoada, on the northern side of Goa bay, was built in 1612 (J. N. de Fonseca, *Sketch of Goa* (Bombay, 1878), 40–2).

[2] St Dominic's was famous for its sermons on just treatment for negro slaves, and in the end so many fled there for refuge that the friars had to moderate their enthusiasm (Fonseca, 251).

[3] Navarrete's slight treatment of Goa is due to anti-Portuguese bias; J. Fryer (*A New Account of East India and Persia, 1672–81*, ed. W. Crooke (London, 1909–15), II, 26) describes the city as 'a Rome in India, both for Absoluteness and Fabricks'; indeed it appears to have 'presented a scene of military, ecclesiastical and commercial magnificence which has no parallel in the British capitals of India' (*Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, 252).

[4] This was recognized (Cortés Osorio, 152) as a reference to the Jesuits who

the 16th we weigh'd for Surat, I lightned my self, leaving the Chinese Christian I had brought with me at Goa, that I might not see the Misery he endur'd at Sea, his sufferings afflicting me more than my own.[1] We sail'd before Bengala [Vengurla] and the 2d Day we lay by at Rosapor [Rajapur] a French Factory. A Black came to us from the Factory, but empty handed. The Wind fail'd us some Days. The Captain, my Friend [a Frenchman], told me what base things his Countrymen did at Madagascar and Musulapatan, taking marry'd Women from their Husbands, whom they threatned with Death if they complain'd. They are inordinate in this particular. We lay some Days in sight of Dabul [Dabhol], a strong and handsome Fort belonging to Subagi; we went on to Chaul, Bombaim [Bombay], Bazaim [Bassein], and on the 8th of January by break of Day we were before Daman. On the 11th we Passengers went up to Soali [Swally] in a Dutch Boat that came to us. It was 83 Days after leaving Musulapatam. There we entred another Region, under another Government, saw other sorts of People, and had Trials of several Humours. May God grant we may find a place to take some rest in.[2]

(Tavernier, II, 238–9) 'did a large trade in rough diamonds'; probably Goa stones (Fryer, II, 11–12; *Hobson-Jobson*, 379–80). The Fathers were also official administrators of military stores and munitions (Carré, 132; Manucci, III, 166, 282; IV, 452), and the Patriarch of Ethiopa, Father Afonso Mendez, sometimes signed letters as 'The Procurator of Diu Fort'. All this, no doubt, aroused envy. Hence the popular saying, 'Guard your wife from the friars, and your money from the Jesuits' (Fryer, II, 13); and the complaint of a Viceroy in 1630 that the Jesuits behaved as though he depended upon them (*Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, II (1956), 541). Carré (132–3) gathered that they 'govern all [Portuguese] India in matters both temporal and spiritual, with a superiority and address that renders them redoubtable'. For a biased but witty account of Goa, see Hamilton, I, 141–3.

[1] 'The Chinese who are White, Platter-fac'd, and Little-eyed, tolerated on account of embracing Christianity' (Fryer, II, 23–4).

[2] Navarrete's sudden switches from a past tense into a present or a wish for the future have been noted (pp. xc–xci) as evidence of his rather abstracted use of diary notes made at the time of the incidents described. This tendency is especially marked in these chapters and there is a striking example at p. 356, para. 5 below.

CHAPTER XXV

MY STAY AT SOALI, AND SETTING OUT AGAIN FOR FRANCE

1. I came to Soali much tir'd, and had a mind to stay at Suratte to wait for a Religious who design'd to travel by Land; but the next Day I had a Letter from him, giving me an account he had not been able to come by Land, by reason of Subagi's Army which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to Golconda, and destroy'd many Towns and Villages about that Court.[1] This made me take another course, which was to make my Intention known to the Director General [Caron], who, tho a rank Heretick, had been civil to me, always gave me place at Table above others; drank to me first, and gave me the best Bit off his plate.[2] At first he made some difficulty of giving me my Passage in the Company's Ship, but was prevail'd upon by me and by a French Gentleman, who was bound the same way as my self and from that time forward he was daily kinder and kinder to me. On the 20th of January he gave a farewel Treat, at which were all the Officers of the Company. After several Healths, he drank to the Captain of the Ship, charging and intreating him to take care and make very much of me, as he would do by him if he were aboard. I thank'd him for so extraordinary a favour.

2. On the 21st in the Morning the Director-General sent for me. I was surpriz'd and went to him; the Captain of the Ship, and the

[1] Carré (19), in Surat at the time, witnessed the departure of Navarrete's ship. He returned to France by land. Had Navarrete gone by land, or Carré by sea, these two gossips would have had much to say of each other. By another coincidence Carré returned to report to Colbert on Caron's behalf; and Navarrete also was supposed to report to him on behalf of Bishop Pallu, see pp. 428–9 below.

[2] Caron, though a *'fino Herege'*, had had a Catholic wife, a converted Japanese. For other references to him and his news from Japan, see *T* 441; *C* 35, 474, 639–40. For his life, see Boxer's edition of his *True Description*, xv–cxxix.

Gentleman I mention'd before, were with him; he shut his Door, drank several Healths to us three in delicate Wines; order'd the Captain to give me a place in the Great Cabin, and charg'd him to make much of me.[1] I went aboard with the Captain, well pleas'd but with some concern, because there was no other Priest for so tedious a Voyage. Caron miss'd me at Noon, and I not being to be found, he was told I was gone aboard, at which he seem'd concerned that I had not staid to dinner.

3. Soali is the Port to Suratte, a Noble City in the Mogul's Dominions, in 21 Degrees of North-Latitude; is no close Harbour, but an excellent Road; at low Water the Sands appear towards the Sea; Ships ride there very safe, and there were abundance there, Dutch, French, English, and Mahometans. There these Nations have Factories to prepare Loading for their Ships. At Suratte, which is a League higher, the Factories are very great: From all parts of the World they resort thither, and from thence trade to Persia, Meca, Cambaya [Cambay], and all parts of India. While I was there, the Portuguese little Fleet arriv'd, which runs along that Coast every Year, and trades along it; near Bazaim they met another small Fleet belonging to Subagi, consisting of fifteen small Ships; they drove it up to the shore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of Powder. One day the French in my hearing were talking with a considerable Mahometan who serv'd their Company, and magnifying the King of France, said, 'Only God is great in Heaven, and the King of France upon Earth.' The Mahometan very soberly answer'd, 'Gentlemen, God in Heaven, and the Mogol upon Earth.' They had no more to say.

4. That Afternoon Caron went aboard, attended by the Officers of the Company; the Cannon were fir'd, there was a plentiful Supper, and excellent Grapes, I had eaten some of them ashore. Caron was extremely loving to me. The Feast ended, he went

[1] The 'Great Cabin' (Fr. *Grande Chambre*) was on the first deck, above the Gun-Room; for a plan of these ships, see Sottas, 466. The vessel was the *Aigle d'Or* (Pallu report, BNP MS esp. 381, f. 387; Carré 19, 388). Carré must be wrong in giving the departure date as 8 January, for Navarrete's date is backed by the dating of his previous chapter, in turn confirmed by Martin. He did not reach Swally until 11 January.

away with his Company, and we were quite clear'd; about ten we sail'd. The following night, the Wind being very fair, and the Weather clear, the Ship ran aground off of Bombay. Good God, what a wonderful confusion we were in! the Ship beat upon the Sands and every stroke we expected she was bulg'd, by good fortune it was Flood-Tide and God was merciful to us in putting us by a Shoal that ran from the point of Land, which was a League and a half from us: With that we made out to Sea by degrees, and came into Water enough. The Captain was ready to fire a Pistol upon the Pilot, who was much to blame, because they had warn'd him to take heed of the Point of Land: he would have stood out, had they not spoke to him: These Pilots are strange obstinate People.[1]

5. Aboard the Ship, I was inform'd by a Heretick of Note that Caron, when he was Factor at Japan, had been the Man that forg'd a Letter against the Catholicks, upon which ensued the last and greatest Persecution there ever was in that Country; after which the Preachers of the Gospel could never gain footing there. I will write in another place, where it will be more proper, what Caron told me. ⟨Talking on this Point [in Lisbon, 1672] with the Lady Duchess of Aveiro y Arcos, she told me that Caron himself had confess'd as much in a book he printed in Dutch. She got it out and read what I have writ. [*C* 640]⟩

6. On Candlemass-day [2 February] we made Cape Comorin and left it astern in eleven days and a half, whereas we had spent 49 in sailing from it to Suratte. I said Mass every day, God be prais'd, and this day four receiv'd Communion. We took a great Shark in the North-sea; and I often observ'd that tho it is such a devouring Fish, yet those Fishes they call Romeros [Pilot-fish] have a peculiar Friendship with it, lie under its shelter, stick close to its Fins, and come to its mouth without any hurt;[2] the St

[1] Navarrete and Carré would have been in agreement about the inability of French pilots; see the latter's *Travels*, 382, 531–2, and 681, where he complains bitterly of the 'mere children earning wages, idlers and shirkers who are the curse of our ships . . . hiding between the decks of a ship for whole months among filth and foulness, not daring to come up for fear of being made to work'.

[2] For these 'poor silly little Fishes', see Fryer (1, 36) where they are identified as *naucrates ductor*, of the family of the Horse Mackerels.

Peter's Fish also clings to it. God's Providence is wonderful in all things.

7. I enquir'd of the French and Dutch, whether it was true, the Hollanders made Salt-water fresh, as I had been inform'd by some Missioners in China.[1] They told me it was false. (But we have seen it sufficiently practis'd in England, which the Author was a stranger to.*)

8. I also ask'd, Whether there was an Ingineer in France that did as much Execution with a Pistol-bullet, as with a whole Cannon, which was told me in China? and they answer'd that was a mere Fable too.

9. I further put the Question, Whether there were Vessels made in France, that by force of Wheels, without Wind, went against the Stream? They own'd such a thing had been done, but prov'd useless, (This we have seen upon the Thames*). The Dutch Man said, He had seen the Ship building in Holland, that was to sail from thence in eight Days to India, but it could never be finish'd for the Inventor ran away. So much any Man might have done, but it was a great folly to believe and spend Mony upon such a mad Undertaking.

10. On the 10th of February, being Shrovetide, we had pass'd the Line, and were becalm'd. The Seamen made merry and sported.

11. We had some discourse concerning the French East-India Company, whether it would stand; and most agreed it would not, because they had no good Government, and particularly did not set out their Ships in due season. The Dutch fell a railing at the French Diet, and prais'd ours, and the Portugueses; and the French oppos'd him; for my part I never lik'd their Cookery.

12. It was argu'd, Whether the Court of China were Grand Cathay? The Turkish History translated into French, which they read there, mention'd that 'before Tamerlan conquer'd China', which I am satisfy'd is false, 'the King of Cathay met him without the Wall, with 1,400,000 men'. They that speak of Grand Cathay, make no mention of the Wall of China; and consequently the Court of China, which is but four and twenty

[1] For English attempts to purify salt-water and Dutch use of distilled water on ships, see J. J. Keevil, *Medicine and the Navy, 1200–1900* (London, 1958), II, 160.

Leagues from the Wall, is not Cathay. I never heard any of the Missioners of China speak any thing material to this Point, but only made Conjectures.[1]

13. We had fresh Fish plentiful, almost all the Lent. On the 15th of March, about eight at Night, the Whipstaff broke; they were four hours making another; the Wind was indifferent, and so we had no great trouble. Some few Years before a Dutch Ship was lost about the same place, through the same Accident. Three more perish'd, but no body being sav'd, it was not known by what Accident. Of the first, three Men escap'd and went in the Boat to the Island Mauricia [Mauritius]; No Ship misses a storm there; we had a great one, and what I have said happen'd the fourth day after the violence of it was over. One of those days they took a Sea-Hog, in nothing different from those ashore as far as Snout and Ears; the Flesh of them is good and wholesom, the Fat is black but well-tasted.

14. On the 17th about eight in the morning, we discover'd the Island Mascarenhas, which the French call of Bourbon [Reunion]; if it had a Port, it would be one of the finest in the World; the Air is temperate, the Water good and plentiful, abundance of Fish and Foul, these so numerous that they catch them with sticks. The Rice, Corn, Fruit, and Herbs the French have sow'd and planted there, have all throve incomparably.

15. Soon after the Wind started up at South-East so violent, that at one gust it carry'd away three Sails, the Main topsail, Mizzen-topsail, and Sprit-sail; It lasted all night, the Sea ran high, and beat the Ship furiously. Every day she grew more leaky, the Main-mast gave way, and I was greatly apprehensive of what we were to endure.

16. On the 4th of April in the Morning we had a horrid storm of Thunder, Lightning, Rain and Wind; it came a head of us, and we bore it five hours without a rag of Cloth hoisted, the Sea beat against the Poop in such violent manner that all the Planks seem'd

[1] Martini had correctly identified Cathay with China, as Navarrete should have known; others, however, were as slow to learn. The French Cartographer Royal, Nicolas Sanson (1600–67), still thought they were two different countries after more than fifty years of Jesuit discoveries demonstrating the contrary (Szcześniak, 116, 118, 136).

to give way, the Water flow'd in amain; we were all huddl'd up, begging mercy of God, I pray'd and cast Holy water, St Nicholas his Bread and Palm of St Peter martyr upon the Sea. That fright past over, and we prepar'd for others, because we daily drew nearer to the Cape of Good Hope, where Winter was beginning. The Captain would not ly close to the shore, as the Waggoners direct, and with good reason, for the Land always shelter'd us from South-west, West and North-west Winds which tore us to pieces, and besides it was convenient for making our advantage of the Land-breezes. One of those Winds would blow, and we would lie by, without advancing a foot in eight days. The Ship was hard work'd, and the Men ply'd the Pump day and night. One Afternoon the Ship gave such a Bulge that there was not a Man but fell violently, and she ship'd so much Water at the side that we were all in a consternation. That night was very troublesome, the Pilot was afraid the Ship would split asunder and founder. We discover'd Cape Agujas [Cape Agulhas], (I kept a Journal, but it is not necessary for me to tire myself in writing things of small moment) it is twenty Leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. Three days we lay upon the Sand. By reason of the contrary Winds we ran away Southward to 42 Degrees. (By which it appears to be a folly which some write, that the Portugueses when they turn that Cape discover Tierra del Fuego, or Incognita.) I sometimes wish'd we might light upon the Southern Land; I was much afraid because it was Winter in those parts. We did battle with the Winds and furious Seawaves. (I like the Sailors way of saying 'do battle'.) On the 29th of April it was resolv'd to put into Madagascar, having been at Sea ever since the 22nd of January.[1] This was a great affliction, yet we were glad of it to be rid of those terrible Winds and Waves; but we were in the wrong, for had we stay'd three days longer, we had certainly weather'd it as the Wind prov'd afterwards; four hours more time would have done our business. We spent a whole Month about the Cape. First the Wind would stand fair, and then within the hour tho that first Wind had not ceas'd, another would start up ahead of us which distracted us. Sometimes there would be a

[1] Caron had specifically forbidden them to go to Madagascar (Carré, 388).

Calm, and immediately the Sea appear'd full of Whales on the surface of the Water, and they would ply round the Ship to the great terror of us that beheld them, and they were a certain token of a Storm, as we found by experience.

17. We wanted not North and North-East Winds in our return towards Madagascar, which would have been the best in the World had we been doubling the Cape. There was no body aboard that had knowledge of those Seas, which was very prejudicial to us. On the 14th of May after night fall, the Wind blowing furiously at North, we all of us saw those they call the Candles of St Telmo on the Main-top and Fore-top, so plain, so bright, and natural, there was no discerning them from those that are placed on Altars. We were all astonish'd at it, they continu'd above six hours in the same form, their brightness not declining in the least. I having read something of this nature, was very careful and curious in making particular observation of it; In the first place the Wind was violent, and lay upon our broad side. (2) The Ship beat very hard. (3) Those Tokens were only to be seen in those two places I mention'd, always perpendicular over the Round-top, without the least alteration. If they had been drops of Water, how came they to be only in those two places? And how came it the Wind did not blow them away? And how came it they did not fall with such terrible beating? I own I do not understand it. Some Seamen had seen the like before; some said they presaged fair Weather, others a Storm, others that their appearing aloft was a good sign, but had it been on the Deck it had been bad. Every Man spoke his mind; the best being to have recourse to God. We sang our Ladies Litany, begging her assistance. The consequence was that the next day about Night-fall, on a sudden the North-wind ceas'd, and another started up astern, the violentest we ever had yet; we sail'd three days under a Foresail reef'd, with our Yards and Topmasts struck. The Sea beating on the Poop frighted us, and ran so high, I had not courage to look at it. What I endur'd during this time is not to be writ, only God and I know it; likewise what I suffer'd at other times: how many nights I passed leaning upon a Brass-Gun, and how many sitting by the Bittake. Amidst a great deal of foul Weather, and dis-

contents betwixt the Captain, the Gentleman, [Dandron] and the Pilot, we at length arriv'd at Madagascar, or the Island of St Laurence, which the French at present call Isle Dauphine.[1] In the Bay (for it is no Port) we found the King's Fleet, and one Ship of the Companies.[2] The French had sometimes spoke ill of the Spanish Inquisition, having heard several hard and harsh reports out of all reason concerning it from wicked Men; I inform'd the Gentleman, Monsieur Dandron, of the whole truth of the Method, Discretion, Piety and Compassion of that Tribunal and of the Gravity, Authority, Zeal and Virtue of the Officers, and he was well pleas'd, and said, It were happy they had it in France. I inform'd him what Father Rogemont, a Flemish Jesuit, told me in China, to wit, that his Countrymen had a most hideous notion of this Tribunal, because they conceited many foolish fancies concerning it, but that he was very sure had they been rightly inform'd, they would not have made the least opposition.[3]

18. They never fail of Prayers Morning and Evening aboard their Ships, and do not neglect it upon any account whatsoever. Upon Sundays and Holidays we sang Vespers, and the Litanies, in the Morning Psalms and Hymns proper to the day. All were punctual at Mass, which I never omitted when the Weather would permit, so there were always some went to Confession and Communion. Truly I was much edify'd at them, particularly at their not swearing, for it was rare to hear an Oath aboard, which is seldom so in Ours, or the Portugueses, Ships. Dandron said their way of Praying in Latin was better than our general use of the Beads, but

[1] Madagascar was given the name of St Lawrence by the Portuguese, who first sighted it on that saint's feastday. The French headquarters there was Fort Dauphin in the south-east of the island.

[2] The Fleet, the first French naval force to be despatched to India, was under the command of Blanquet de la Haye; the other ship belonged to the French East India Company fleet under the Marquis de Montdevergue (J. Sottas, *Histoire de la Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales, 1664–1719* (Paris, 1905), 43–6; and see Carré's highly indignant account of French mismanagement of the affair (378–89)). An anonymous account of the voyage on board a vessel in de la Haye's fleet is published as *Journal du Voyage des Grandes Indes* (Orleans, 1697).

[3] For French antipathy to the Inquisition, see Carré, 5. In the East this attitude was strengthened by the notorious Ephraim affair and by Dellon's restrained and moving account of his imprisonment: *Histoire de l'Inquisition de Goa* (Amsterdam, 1687).

I convinced him that the Rosary Beads were of more use to ignorant People who understood not Latin, and therefore had the comfort of understanding the Prayers they said by their Beads.

19. Several other Arguments were held aboard, not at all proper to be handled by those who had only read Rhetorick and Grammar. In short, it pleas'd God we came to an Anchor at Madagascar on the 29th of May, tho in rainy foul and windy Weather. There came immediately aboard us a French Capuchin [Ambroise de Preusty] who was a great comfort to me; I went with him to his Ship, and then to another, where I was made much of. The rest did the same afterwards, they all offer'd me their Ships, and any thing in them; in truth I was much beholden to them. I went ashore, and receiv'd a French Bishop's Blessing, who had been a Missioner in Tunquin and China, and was returning from Rome, of whom I had news from thence and Spain.[1] I consider'd the vast distance, being above 3000 Leagues, and thought it impossible to reach home.

[1] The Bishop was François Pallu, titular Bishop of Heliopolis. The significance of this meeting is discussed in Appendix II below. The Capuchin is identified by Grandidier (III, 348) following *Journal du Voyage*, I, 97; but on the other hand he may be the friar Ambroise de Preuilly referred to (Pallu, *Lettres*, II, 401, 424) as being stationed in Surat round about this time.

CHAPTER XXVI

MY STAY AT MADAGASCAR, OR THE ISLAND OF S. LAURENCE

1. I lay some time aboard, because there was no conveniency ashore, and I forsaw what I was to suffer there.[1] Before I went ashore again, I convers'd with the French Capuchin concerning the French and the Spanish Bishops; and he answer'd me, The King of Spain is more Religious than our King, and so are the People, so that they have a different notion of these things than my Countrymen; and tho there are learned and Pious Religious enough in France yet many Bishopricks are given to Men of Great Families and Men who have served the State. Speaking of the office of French King's Confessor my Informant said, It is more a matter of Politicks and of Reason of State than any thing else.[2]

2. Aboard the other Ships they had ask'd the Bishop's leave to eat Flesh always, which I did not like because Fish might have been had easily if they wished. The French and Portuguese laugh at the Spaniards for eating Offal-meat on Saturdays, without considering they do much worse themselves upon other accounts.[3] But often it is necessary to hear, see and hold one's Peace.

3. The Portugueses discover'd that Island, and abandon'd it;

[1] For Navarrete's stay in Madagascar, see Appendix II below.

[2] The Jesuit François Annat (1590–1670) was confessor to Louis XIV; this remark is defended at C 617.

[3] Formerly, Saturday was a day of abstinence from meat; the Castilians, however, had the privilege of eating *grosura*, the extremities and entrails of animals, on that day. For an explanation of why the Bishop had dispensed with the abstinence, see I-M. Roguet's 'Letter' in *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, IX (1866), 575. This letter gives a little-known but vivid picture of conditions in the colony at this time: disease was rampant and many died; supplies were short and there were constant threats from hostile natives; houses had to be guarded night and day, but robberies were still frequent and the roads outside the Fort were unsafe.

next the Dutch took and left it, the French took possession last, and say they will quit it, because no benefit can be made of it. The Bay is in about 26 Degrees of South Latitude, the Air unwholesom, and the Water bad. The French have nothing there but the Bay, some Thatch'd Houses, and a Mud-wall, which is a beginning of a Fort they design. The Island is the biggest that is known in the Universe. The Inland abounds in Blacks, has many Kings and petty Princes. The People are very Barbarous, Brothers and Sisters marry, Fathers have to do with their Daughters, and Sons with their Mothers.[1] They are Warlike, and manage their Spears very well, as we saw while we were there. The Country breeds vast numbers of very large Cows, whose flesh is very good, and on their Shoulders they have great Bunches like that on a Camel, one of them, weigh'd whilst I was there, was 36 Pound weight; it is all fat like Butter, except some strings of Lean mix'd with it; they cut it in slices, and fry it, and it is an excellent Dish. There are Goats in abundance, some peculiar sorts of Fruit, an infinite quantity of Rice. There are in the Island two Noble Ports, one on the East-side, which is call'd Anton Gil, a Portuguese Discoverer's name. There the Fleet got a great quantity of Rice in exchange for Glass Beads. The other is call'd St Augustin's Bay. This is reported to be an extraordinary Port, but both Places very unhealthy.

4. As to the Religion of those People, the Missioners told me they are like Manichees and acknowledg a good and a wicked God; that they give little Worship to the good one, and a great deal to the bad. The good one, say they, being such, will do them no harm, so that they need not trouble their heads about him; but they must please the bad one that he may not punish them, and therefore they offer several Sacrifices to him.[2] They are addicted to strange Superstitions to deliver themselves from Crocodiles, Sickness and other misfortunes. They cut off the Children's Navel-String, and wear it about their Necks to make them fortunate. I observ'd it, and they themselves told me so. Every one

[1] Thus Dellon (*Voyage*, 22): 'the natives commit the most abominable incests at pleasure.'

[2] This is also touched on in *T* 241; it is confirmed by Dellon, *Voyage*, 21–2.

has as many Wives as he pleases, and they have the liberty of unmarrying whensoever they will.

5. I contriv'd to lie ashore because the Ship was not convenient for Prayer, Reading and Study. There was Feasting, Visiting, and such noise in the great Cabin, that no quiet was to be expected. Besides that, the North-East Winds are continually boisterous, and no Ship is safe there; this too oblig'd me to quit, tho I was ty'd to come and say Mass aboard. It was no easy matter to contrive to live ashore, because the Island's Missioners had the Bishop and his Companions in their House, so that no place was empty.[1] I took up in a little low Thatcht-Cottage, went to dine with the French Gentleman [Dandron] and he always did me extraordinary Kindnesses. The Church was far off, so that I spent much time in going to it and returning. I continued in this manner above a Month, and it was no small Penance had I made a right use of it. The Gentleman and Captains took compassion on me, and blam'd the Bishop without cause. One day without my knowledg Dandron went to the Bishop, and said to him, 'My Lord, we are all scandaliz'd to see you are all Missioners, and preach up Charity, and yet use none toward this poor Old-man who is a Missioner as well as you, and banish'd for the Law of God.' I was concern'd at it, for fear they should imagin it was a contrivance of mine; but that way of living was so tedious to me, considering it was to last five Months, that I was out of patience, and resolv'd to return to India in that Fleet, which I told the Capuchin my Friend; he acquainted the Bishop with it, and mov'd that I might go to the Church, alledging reasons for it, and among others the good Offices I had done the Missioners of Tunquin and Cochinchina. The Bishop was mov'd to it the more, because among some Papers I had given him, he hapned to find that I was a Superior of my Order:[2] this wrought much upon him, and had I foreseen it would stand me in such stead, I would easily have made him acquainted with it; but it never

[1] There was another explanation too; see Appendix II below.

[2] Upon the death of friar Juan Bautista Morales in September 1664, Navarrete had been appointed Superior of the Dominicans in China and Prefect Apostolic (defined in Addis, *s.v.*).

came into my thoughts, nor is it to the purpose when you are to do a poor Religious a kindness, whether he is a Superior, or otherwise.

6. On the 11th of July I went to the Church, had a Cell, and a fine Study of Books which was a mighty satisfaction to me.[1] A Month after the Fleet with the Lord Bishop and his Companions sail'd for Suratte. I was left with the Missioners belonging to the Island, being three in number, and two Lay-brothers of a new Religious Order in France [Congregation of the Mission] Men of great Piety and good Example. They serv'd every Body readily, and every Morning, at Four of the Clock precisely, met at Prayers at home. Their Diet was slender and bad: Upon Fridays and Fasting-days, they eat Herbs out of a little Garden they had, and if there was an Egg over and above, that was much. One Friday whilst the good Bishop was there, we were seven at Table; there was Pottage and only two Eggs for his Lordship, I sat next him, he gave me one, and we had no more. By this I guess'd that what had been said about their eating Flesh on Fasting-days was false, because all the time I was with them, tho the Fare was so slender, they never eat Flesh on any day when it is forbidden.

7. As to the state of Christianity in the Island, they told me there were above a thousand baptiz'd, and not above fifty that liv'd like Christians.[2] The French Gentleman had a little Black he had previously carry'd from thence to Suratte and Masulapatan, where he had been three years, was well clad, spoke French and Portuguese, was grown familiar and well fed; nevertheless, the love of his Country prevail'd, and he now fled. Till the Natives are subdu'd, which is not easy, they will never improve in Spirituals or Temporals. The Admiral [de la Haye] had gone up the Country [in January 1671] with 500 French to strike a terror into

[1] While here, Navarrete wrote up much of the material for his two books (*T* 289–90). He also sent word of his progress to the Philippine Dominicans ('Ends', 46r), who so far had had only indirect reports of his having reached India (Varo to friar Medina, December 1671: letter in CASA 1074, f. 291).

[2] Dellon (*Voyage*, 22) bears Navarrete out in this: 'of three Thousand that had been baptized . . . there were scarce twenty that used to frequent our Church . . . some of the French, by their manner of living, shew'd but a very ill example to these new Converts.'

their Enemies. He would not be advis'd by the Governour [de Champmargou] and so came off with the loss of 400 Men; and it was reported that fifteen Blacks had made all that Slaughter, and a jest out of him.[1] ⟨What a fine Thing that a Souldier should labour and fight till he loses his Life, and when he has lost it there should be no care taken for his Soul! I know well the neglect of the French in Madagascar, for above 400 of them were left dead in the Field fighting the Blacks, and as yet the first Mass is not said for them. The Missioners that liv'd there, and I among them, did what Charity requir'd at our hands in this Respect. But it is just and reasonable that Kings should take Care to do good for the Souls of those that die in War. The Emperor Chao Lie [Chao lieh-ti] was very careful in offering Sacrifice to Heaven, Earth, his Ancestors, and his Subjects that dy'd in War; he show'd himself very religious in all his Actions, tho in a false and idolatrous Religion, and was merciful in his Government.[2] Some Accounts have reach'd China in which they blame the negligence and remissness of our Nation as to this particular. [*T* 96]⟩

8. The Governour was a little Man, lame of a Hand and a Foot, and sickly, but a very Saint; the Enemy dreads him more than if he were a Giant, he has done great feats and obtain'd signal Victories over those Blacks with a handful of Men. The Admiral went away [May 1671] to the Island Mascarenhas, or Bourbon, and left the Governour Orders not to wage War with the Enemy, even tho they should provoke him; and they said, it was for fear the Governour should get the better with that handful of Men he had, which would make his own attempt the more shameful. All his [de la Haye's] Men went to India with an ill will under his command. I heard some account of him, and declar'd I was of opinion he would do not good there. I prov'd a true Prophet, as it hapned.[3]

[1] This was a punitive expedition, criticized by many others also, against Ramouset, a native headman; Carré estimates 1,000 were lost, but probably exaggerates (Carré, 386–7; Martin, I, 306; Kaeppelin, 51).

[2] Chao-lieh-ti (A.D. 221–3) founded the Minor Han dynasty (Giles, 516).

[3] '. . . the unfortunate French nature asserted itself. I mean that the discords, quarrels, disobedience, and fights one against the other, were so great that the other European companies, who had begun to feel jealous of our [French] establishment,

9. When the Admiral return'd from the Island Mascarenhas [25 June], I talk'd with him, he treated me courteously. The Major of the Island [de la Case] was dead [23 June 1671]; he had been marry'd to a lusty Black Woman. He left three Daughters: John Lambertegi [La Bretèche] Captain of a Company, who told me he had serv'd in the same quality in Spain, presently propos'd to marry the Eldest, which was accordingly done with the greatest Pomp I ever saw, the Wedding was kept aboard the Admiral [flag-ship, the *Navarre*]. All the ships being thirteen in number discharg'd several broad sides.[1] The Captain of another Company [Tomassin] a very handsome Man, marry'd the Widow, but it was before break of day [27 July] and very privately.[2] I was concern'd at it, these People are not so nice as our Spaniards. There were several Frenchmen there marry'd with Black Women, and others were gone up the Country where they liv'd naked like the Blacks. I saw some in that condition, and was much asham'd of it. 10. In this Island I saw beautiful Peacocks.[3] In that of Mascarenhas they say there are fine Birds and Beasts, and that to this day they have never seen a Toad, Snake, Mouse, or any other sort of Vermine, which is very strange. And how should we guess which way all those living Creatures got thither; the matter is easier for Birds, but not of all sorts. Pigeons fly far, but Turtles, Nightingals, and other sorts found there cannot easily hold a flight over so vast a Sea. The Bird Ruc I mention'd in the first Book [*T* 43] is for me, a mere Chimera. Mozambique lies West of Madagascar. The Arabs arriv'd there in the Year 1670, and did great Mischief. The Country abounds in Gold and Elephants, and Unicorns. Up the Inland is the Empire of Monomotapa. The late Emperor's Son, Elder Brother to him now reigning, was of late Years baptiz'd by the Religious of our Order; and took their Habit, has prov'd a

conceived a firm hope that our fine enterprises would not last long' (Carré, 381). For the subsequent history of the Fleet, see C. R. Boxer, 'The Third Dutch War in the East (1672–4)', *Mariner's Mirror*, XVI (1930), 343–5; Chardin, 1–5; Carré, 401; Knox, 295.

[1] The marriage took place on 19 July, and the celebrations continued until 23rd (*Journal*, I, 78).

[2] These details are confirmed by Carré, 380; Kaeppelin, 51; *Journal*, I, 76 ff.

[3] There are no peacocks in Madagascar: perhaps he meant guinea-fowl.

good Religious, was at Goa when I was there; he was call'd home by his People, but knowing, or suspecting, they intended to put the Government into his hands, he apprehended running himself into some danger, and refus'd to go.[1]

11. On the West and near the Island of Madagascar there is a small one [Johanna Is.] inhabited by Arabs. They have a Fort, and go over to Madagascar to rob. A great number of Blacks came together, and courted the French to join with them in making War upon those Arabs, before we left the place. John Lambertegi [La Bretèche] went up the Country with fifteen Frenchmen, and some Natives to treat about this affair. By degrees time slipp'd, and Winter pass'd away, and about mid October the Rains had ceas'd, and the Cold abated. I was so eager to be at Sea, that every Day seem'd a Year. All-Saints Day was appointed for our departure, but the Weather was such as gave little hope of weighing Anchor. On All-Saints Day [1 November] I said Mass, but we could not stir. Upon All Souls Day [2 November] we being out in readiness, the Wind began to blow at North-East, and we by God's goodness to sail.

[1] Prince Michael of Monomotapa became a Dominican, known as Friar Miguel de Apresentação; made a Master of Theology, he was teaching in Goa in 1670. The Dominicans worked in Monomotapa where the Royal Chaplain was always a member of the Order. In India the Dominicans admitted natives to holy Orders (A. da Silva Rego, *Curso de Missionologia* (Lisboa, 1956), 336, 338; F. de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1910–22), III, pt. i, 742), and many African negroes were taken to Goa as slaves, where 'some . . . in the End come to be Priests. I have known many Coal-Black Priests about Goa' (Hamilton, I, 17–18). On the mission to Monomotapa, see Maracci, 4–9.

CHAPTER XXVII

MY DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND MADAGASCAR

1. The Ship-provision was little and that not good, so I beg'd some Onions of the [Capuchin] Missioner my Friend, which he gave me, and I valued very much. I was told the French Admiral [de la Haye] bound for Suratte, intended to make the Dutch and English strike to him but 'tis not likely he compass'd it; they added, the Honour of France lay at stake upon that Fleet; if so then their Honour is at a low Ebb, yet they pretend theirs is the most mighty King in Christendom. May God, who gave it him *gratis*, continue his Grandeur.

2. We had a good Voyage all the Month of November, save one furious Storm on the 28th; but Summer being now advanced we fear'd it not, but turn'd our Head to it, and back'd the Sails. On the last day of the Month we turn'd the Cape. A Hugonot Captain [Foran] an honest fair Gentleman, had come aboard us at Madagascar; I cannot express how much I was oblig'd to this Heretick, for he was well provided.[1] He order'd his Servants to give me every thing I ask'd for. I ask'd and ask'd again, and they supply'd me without failing. Next to God, this Man sav'd my life, and I wish'd I could have given him Eternal life. He told me how his King aspir'd to possess himself of New Spain, and in order to it had sent one over to view and take an exact account of the Country and of the Ports, Exits and Entrances, and other Places. This Man had spent three Years there, and return'd with full and exact Information, which he deliver'd in Writing to

[1] Foran, or Ferrand, Captain of the *Triomphe*, had left France with de la Haye's fleet for India but decided to visit Brazil en route. For this truancy de la Haye imprisoned him when he eventually caught up with the main body at Madagascar. Disenchanted with the enterprise, he and three other officers returned home in the *Aigle* (Carré, 385–8; *Journal*, 1, 2, 64, 80).

Monsieur Colbert, First Minister of France. ⟨I ask'd Foran, What Title and Cause is there for this? And he answer'd me, 'The same Right that the King of Spain has to possess the Indies.' [*C* 251]⟩

3. I was eager to come to the Cape of Good Hope, that I might see what the Dutch have done there. Some French who had seen told wonders of it, that there was an admirable Port, with abundance of good Cannon, fine Houses, Gardens and Orchards, producing all sorts of European Fruits, and those of the Country, which are good and various, and abundance of Cows, Sheep, Hens, Turkeys, besides good Horses. Major John Muñoz Gadea, who came that way in the Year 1672, told me the same in Spain. The Dutchman aboard our Ship had told us there were Sea Elephants seen in that place; some believ'd it, others, and I among them, suspended their judgment, but the same Gentleman told me he had seen two there, each about as big as a Cow, but the Feet and Tail very like an Elephant. Before we put into Madagascar, we saw the Sea in places cover'd with Geese, it was wonderful to see such multitudes of them. Don John Muñoz assur'd me they were Sea-Geese, which had no Feet, so that they had Wings and Feathers to fly, and no Feet to walk, and therefore came to be feather'd Fish. God who created them knows how they laid or hatch'd.[1]

4. Fifteen or twenty Leagues Norwest of the Cape is the Bay of Saldania, discover'd by the Portugueses; all about it there is not a drop of Sweet-water to be found which is a great misfortune. The French Admiral [de la Haye] had set up a Mark there in token that he took possession of that place for his King, but the Dutch presently pull'd it down; whilst they have the Cape who can subsist near it? And had the Portugueses secur'd the Cape, which cost them so dear to find, who would have sail'd to India? Today when there is no remedy, they repent and weep over it.

[1] Fryer (1, 35–6) describes them: 'as large as a River Perch bedeckt with Silver-spangled Scales and long Fins for conveying them under Water as also for soaring into the Air.' See also F. Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage to the East Indies*, ed. A. Gray and H. C. P. Bell (London, 1887–9), 1, 9; and Richard Hawkins's comparison of them, at the mercy of dolphins and cormorants, to game at the mercy of hounds and hawks.

The Dutch take Whales and abundance of Sea-wolves in the Bay of Saldania, the Skins of the latter serve to cover Trunks, and yield good profit.

5. We sail'd for the Island St Helena with fair Wind and Weather. On the fourth of December we were in 28 Degrees, 45 Minutes of South Latitude, our course Norwest. Summer came on, the Heat with it, and the Wind slackned. Two Youths aboard had quarrell'd bitterly; today they made it up and shook Hands and all was settl'd. Not a Fish to be seen or taken, I wonder what has become of them.

6. On the 10th the Sky was so thick clouded, that for six days following we neither saw the Sun by Day, nor the Moon by Night; we were then within the Tropick and the Sun Vertical, the Weather as cool as it is in Spain in March. There is great variety of Seasons in the same Latitude; who can assign the reason? The Year before we said, the strength of the Sun consum'd the Vapours in that Latitude, and therefore there were no Clouds appear'd; now we said the force of the Sun drew up thick Vapours, which caus'd such black Clouds; certain it is there is no deciding this matter.

7. We observ'd some never failing Tokens, by which to know whether there will be Wind or not. One was the cockroaches left their Nests and went running and fluttering about the Ship; and the more restless they are, the higher the Wind; and by observing what place they come from, it can be told whether it will be fair or not.

8. Another is when the sucking pigs on board run and tumble about the Ship during a Calm; when we saw them play thus we rejoiced being sure of a Wind.

9. There was aboard a Young Man of Quality [du Menillet], who had been Major aboard the Fleet that sail'd for Suratte; he was somewhat impertinent, had lost all he had, and so was forc'd to give over play.[1] He us'd to eat with the Hugonot [Foran] who, observing he did not say Grace, told him of it; and the Youth alledg'd it was not the Custom in France, which was false, for all others in the Ship did it, but he.

[1] He, like Foran, was abandoning the Fleet and returning to France (*Journal*, 1, 80).

10. This Young Man and another [de la Houssaye?] us'd to swear at Play; the Hugonot told them he would play no more with them, if they did not give over that Vice; they did not, and he was as good as his word. Talking with him one Afternoon I ask'd him, how it came he did not play? He answer'd, 'I play to divert my self, and pass the Time, not to swear my self, or hear others swear; those Gentlemen swear, I have told them my Mind, they don't mend, and I don't like to play with them.' I was amaz'd and out of Countenance, tho I knew he had done the same at Madagascar, and that at Geneva they had Spies about to discover Swearers in order to punish them. O shame of Catholicks, Spaniards, and Portugueses, who are unruly, impudent and scandalous in this particular! He that does not rap out an Hundred Oaths, thinks he does not look like a Man. How horrid it is to hear a Portuguese swear by a Ship-load of consecrated Hosts, and a Spaniard by the Wounds of Christ, and by the Blessed Virgin! And so God prospers them accordingly, 'For Thou visitest us, as we worship Thee.' ⟨Another Matter it occurs to me to mention here for it is very frequent in Portuguese ships, and in ours. I have seen somewhat of it, tho not so much. It touches on superstition, for this Reason I put it here. The Case is that, when the Wind fails for sailing, the mariners have recourse to a Statue of Saint Anthony, they tie it with a Length of Oakum to the mizzen-mast and will not release it thence on any Account, until the Wind blows, and mayhap they cast it into the Water. Some there have been that, enrag'd, have bitt the Head off the Saint for that he gave them not the Wind they ask'd for. And so positive are they that this is Devotion, that however much this Behaviour is cry'd down to them, yet they will not leave it aside. Now all this I consider uniformly condemn'd as pure Superstition, for those Actions in no Way nor Wise, have that influence or connection with the Wind or Waves that is desir'd by those Means. [R 31][1]⟩

11. On the 20th of December at two in the Afternoon we anchor'd at the Isle St Helena; being so small, it was much that we hit it so

[1] Another curious Spanish custom was that of vowing, when in danger at sea, to marry the first poor girl met after safe landing (Labat, I, 5).

exactly without erring an Inch from what they had said aboard previously. The Portugueses discovered that Island; had they kept possession of it and the Cape, they might have easily lorded it alone in India, for where should Ships take in fresh Water and Provisions? The Dutch took it, but then fixing at the Cape the English made themselves Masters of it; the Dutch retook, and the English again beat them out of it. The Island is small, all encompass'd with Rocks rising up to the Clouds, it looks like a great Fort or Castle; it has no Harbour, but there is good Anchoring and safe from the Winds, because at that Season they come over the Island. The place where the English were, is a small Valley, not a musket Shot in Breadth, without a Tree or Bush, or a Foot of Strand; but there is an excellent Brook of fair Water which God has provided for the Benefit of Sailers; there is no Wood, which would have been a great help. Beyond the Rocks they say there is plain and pleasant Ground well water'd. In that place there is a little Town of English, who till the Ground, sow Rice, make Butter and Cheese; there are some sorts of Fruit, Swine, and Goats that were put in by the Dutch and Portugueses so that there is refreshment enough there at present. There was some disputes and altercations about Landing, the little Governour[1] was afraid they were going to assault him, he order'd the French should not come within his Fort, arm'd, and that they should come but two at a time; so that none went ashore but the Seamen and two poor Fellows. After Mass I went to get a little Biscuit, and saw the Governour who receiv'd me courteously; he had been at Madrid, and valued himself on his Metaphysicks; to say the truth, he was an Ingenious Man, made much of me that Day, forced me to stay all Night, gave me a good Bed; we discours'd upon several Subjects, and he put to me three Cases concerning Baptism; he was at variance with his Parson [Noakes].[2] There I found some Blacks of Madrastapatan, for whom I was concern'd, because they had bin Catholicks at home, and were Hereticks there: there were also two French Men

[1] Span. *gobernadorcillo*: A Philippine term denoting a petty governor or magistrate.

[2] For the background to this, see Appendix III below.

in the same way. The Fort is considerable enough for that place, the Garison small but there is no need of many Souldiers to oppose any Enemy. I admire the Dutch should take that Island from the English, and much more that they should recover it from them.

12. After this we had a Feast and all that follows thereupon, according to the Customs of those Nations. The English Governor's name was Richard Cuni [Cony] and ⟨after we had supp'd I remember he and others bethought them that we might all join together in a large Room to sing their Psalms and Prayers; they press'd me to remain there with them, assisting at that Act, without praying along with them, but although it seem'd to me that twas but passive or material Assistance, yet I would not come to it; they shew'd no little Grief but I paid no Heed. [*C* 128]⟩ The Governour said to Foran, the Hugonot, 'The Reverend Father is a great Friend to your Worship,' for indeed I had spoke well of him. Foran anser'd, 'There is no trusting of him, for the Fathers don't love Hereticks!' I have observ'd that these Men plainly own themselves Hereticks, as I have often heard from their own Mouths; though others of them will not confess it.

13. About 26 or 27 Years ago a Portuguese Carack was cast away there; the Men got to the Island, and stay'd there two Years. They took there the Swine, Goats, and other Cattel out of the Carack, turn'd them loose, and they began to increase so very much, that, some time after, twelve English and Dutch Ships putting in there, found Plenty of Provision to serve them all. 'Tis strange, but they all affirm it to be true. The Dogs multiply'd too, and at present do harm among the Calves and Kids; they hunt them, as we do Wolves in other Parts. There are abundance of Pigeons, and all white; in those Parts they call that sort Pigeons of St Helena, to distinguish them from those that have been carry'd from several Parts of India.

14. Discoursing concerning Transmigration of Souls, Governour Cuni said, that when he was in Guinea, the Interpreter told him that in such a House there was a Lion, in whom was the Soul of the first Ancestor of that Family, as those Heathens believ'd. He

desir'd to be carry'd to see him, they went, and he said he saw a most terrible Lion, which very tamely pass'd by him into the House, where he took two or three turns, and then in his sight went into a Room. He own'd he quak'd with fear at the sight. Sure some Devil was in the Body of it, to deceive those People, which is the more likely, because they told him it neither Eat nor Drank.

15. I said three Masses on Christmas Day; one at Midnight for the Ship's Sailors devoutly request'd it. The second I began at Dawn, and follow'd with the Third which was attended by People from a French Ship which arriv'd after ours. Eight Persons Confess'd and Communicated. That afternoon we sail'd towards the Island of the Ascension. We had but little Wind till the 3d of January, and the Weather being fair I said Mass every Day. On the 4th we had sight of the Island, and the 5th anchor'd opposite to a little Bay, from which rises a high Pyramidal Mountain, on the top whereof are two great Crosses set up by the Portugueses; three French Men went up thither. The Island is but small, lies in 8 Degrees of South Latitude, no Water has as yet been found there. It lies almost half way betwixt Guinea and Brazil, which are 400 Leagues asunder East and West. They found Letters ashore of French and English, who had pass'd by there the Year before; those that sail this way, are so curious, as to write Letters, put them into Bottles of thick Glass and leave them in a safe place but visible, by which the next Comers have intelligence who is gone by, and what Voyage, Weather and Delays they had. It was the Twelfth-day, or Epiphany. Foran made a Feast at Night, and according to the custom of France we drew for King, it fell to my Lot, and I could not excuse my self, so I chose my Officers, and forbore the rest of the Sport.

16. Some Seamen having spent a whole Night in fishing for Tortoises, got but one; tho it was a great one. The Captain was out of Patience at it, order'd to weigh, and we continued our Voyage without hopes of seeing Land till we came to France. We fell to eating the Tortoise, whose Flesh was very good; they found above 200 Eggs in her, all of them as round as a Ball; the Shell

was tough yet pliable and when thrown against the Deck, would rebound like a Ball.

17. The 10th of January was the Feast of St William Duke of Aquitain, the Captain's Name was so; we celebrated it the best we could, he was thankful, and made a generous return. On the 15th we found our selves 20 Minutes North of the Line, so that we had cut it about 9 or 10 of the Clock. All the way from the Cape of Good Hope to this place we had always the Wind at South-East, East-South-East, and South-East by South. There were aboard the Ship only a Black Boy of Madagascar, and a Black Girl two Years and a half Old, that had never cut the Line; and not to lose the Sailers Custom, they duck'd them both; this and some other Sports the Seamen always found out was some Diversion to us.

18. When we were got beyond two Degrees of North Latitude we had some Calms, then followed terrible Thunder, and a furious North-East Wind; St Telmo's Candles appear'd again upon the Round-tops, but not so bright, nor did they last so long as the other time. Now was the first Holy-day we miss'd of Mass since our departure from Madagascar; the Seas and Ship's violent Motions made it seem as if we were got back to the Cape of Good Hope.

19. In 13 Degrees 15 Minutes of North Latitude there is a Rock, on which a Ship perish'd some Years since, we alter'd our course to avoid it. I have often consider'd, did we shun the occasion of Sinning, as a Pilot does the Shoals, our Lives would be most Holy. Good God, how careful is a Pilot to shun the risk and the danger! he thinks not enough to get 3 or 4 Leagues off, but runs 20, 30, nay 40, as I have seen, and still is afraid. Our Pilot Lazaro Beato us'd to say in the North Sea, 'Fathers, the King's Ship is not safe in a hundred Fadom Water.'[1] How careless is every Man of the Ship that God has committed to his charge, and yet we would have it come off safe from so many Flats, Rocks, Sands, and Dangers, as occur at every step in this World?

20. We were all sad and melancholy, tho the Winds had been favourable, and had not been much troubled with Calms. A

[1] Pilot on his first voyage in 1646.

Ship has been in a dead Calm 50 Days together near the Line; had the like happen'd to us, our Provision was so short and bad, that we must have all perish'd. I have cut the Line five times, that's enough in Opinion; he is mad enough who crosses it, unless he goes purely to serve God. Yet I never found any manner of alteration in my self, or any thing else; others tell strange Stories of it, which are not to be credited.

21. Upon Candlemas-day [2 February] I said Mass, we had been now four Months at Sea, were in 18 Degrees of North Latitude, and had left Cabo Verde astern; we had not sight of it, nor of Cape St Antony. Our course was n.n.w. for we could not lie closer to the North. We had a new repetition of the King of France his designs against New Spain, and they said the River of Plate was but weakly defended by us, and must be first secur'd. The Hugonot [Foran] took a Ship there some Years before, and after that another at the Island Santo Domingo, with only 25 Men and a Boat; he himself said it was a shame they suffer'd themselves to be taken.

22. On the 7th of February we found our selves without the Tropick of Cancer; the Wind came about to East, and we stood three days due North: Our true Course was N.N.E. and so we wanted another Wind. We sail'd on in melancholy manner; Job calls our Life, A Warfare upon Earth; and we may properly call it, A Voyage upon Sea. The World is call'd a Sea in Holy writ, and with good cause; in it we see the furious Winds of several Vices which assault Man; Dangers, Rocks, on which great Vessels shipwrack daily, &c. This makes Man a Ship, and his Life a Voyage. This is so easily made out, it is needless to spend time about it, but ⟨until I sail'd the Seas, it was not possible for me to understand the intolerable Labours of Seamen, nor is it credible to him who has no Experience of it; neither does such an one understand what is suffer'd in a prolong'd Voyage, with Storms, contrary Winds, Want of Victuals, Drink and the Rest. Hence the Holy Spirit said, 'Who sails upon the Seas, he relates the Dangers thereof.' Which is to say, Let none that has liv'd but on Land set himself up to treat of the Sufferings endur'd at Sea, for this is the especial Right of those who have plough'd the

Waters. Many men, as the saying goes, speak out from the Barriers, watching the Bull-fight from behind the Boards, or from the Balcony, which is easy and pleasant. But thanks be to God, I can speak with some Experience of these Matters, for of Heat, Cold, Hunger and Thirst, I could write much; of Imprisonments and Jails, not a little; and upon the Matter of Navigation I may cast my Vote, for I have pass'd over twenty thousand Leagues of Water. [*T* 193]⟩

23. During the remaining part of our Voyage we had sundry Winds, Rain, troublesom Seas, and cold enough; the Seamen fell sick every day. Provisions fell short, we did not catch so much as a Fish-bone in a month. The Hugonot supply'd me, and all the sick, with every thing he had: This I was much edify'd at, and observ'd that others who were able did it not, tho they had so good an Example shown them. I divided among the Seamen the allowance of Brandy they gave me, and took care of their Souls, which was the main Point. It hap'ned more than once that two Men had to hold me fast whilst I adminstred the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to a third and yet I could scarce stand to do my Duty, the motion of the Ship was so violent. In 15 days time we came out of Summer into sharp Winter; we ran into 46 Degrees of Latitude which is the height of the English Channel. Then we fell again into 43; we steer'd directly East, and the North-wind came up very furious, and held us eight days in the same place; We reck'ned our selves within Cape Finisterre, and expected in a day more to reach Bordeaux; but the Weather continuing, and Men dying, it was resolved to put into Corunna. Having stood about, and sail'd half a day, about Night-fall we discover'd Cape Finisterre a League from us. It was resolv'd to pass on to Lisbon, the Wind was large, and we ran along the Coast very pleasantly. Next day an odd Accident well worth writing hap'ned: One that had been Purser was sick aboard, he had been put out of that Employment for his dishonesty, and conceiv'd such hatred against the Captain and Steward, that he said he would not forgive them. He was often advis'd at Madagascar, and by the way thence, to lay aside that Rancour; he would not. The Captain and Steward sent to let him know they

bore him no ill-will, that he might relent; this avail'd nothing. I desir'd two ingenious Frenchmen to discourse him upon that Business, and advise him to confess himself, because his sickness was dangerous; all to no purpose. I, with the little French I had, said all I thought convenient. He answer'd, when he came to France he would do it. I told him, it was doubtful whether he would ever reach thither; he took no notice of it. One day they call'd me a sudden, telling me that young Man was dying. I came as he was giving up the Ghost, he dy'd; and on a sudden the Wind chang'd and rose so high, that we had not seen the like all the Voyage; the Sea flew up to the Clouds, such a Wave broke upon the Ship as frighted us all. All attributed it to the poor Wretch who had just died and so they threw the Body into the Sea as fast as they could, and it was strange that the Wind began to fall immediately, and came about to the same Point where it was before. There was also a very remarkable alteration in Wind and Sea when the Heretick Director dy'd betimes in the Morning this side the Cape of Good Hope, I took particular notice of it. I had before told him my mind, offer'd him my service, he would not give ear, and went away to Hell. The Devils, it is likely rejoyced, which made that alteration we were sensible of. I rather took this Man for an Atheist, than a Heretick; he liv'd like a Beast, and drank like a Madman; one Night he got up to drink, and instead of the Wine laid hold of the Ink-bottle, and drank a good deal; it is likely it hurt his Stomach, and he was made ill of that.

24. Eleven, or thirteen Seamen dy'd as I remember; they had received all the Sacraments, God be prais'd, which was my greatest comfort, and they dy'd well. On the 18th of March we anchor'd at Cascaes, some went ashore presently, and return'd at midnight with fresh Bread, Wine and Fruit.[1] I enter'd Lisbon

[1] On account of the Dutch war Colbert had the *Aigle* escorted from Lisbon to France (Kaeppelin, 38), where it arrived in August, 1672. Later still Carré, in Leghorn, heard how she had arrived 'laden with a rich cargo. She had been obliged to put into (Lisbon) as she had lost nearly all her crew from sickness. I was overjoyed at this news, as in France the ship was considered lost . . .' (Carré, 19). Navarrete now abandoned his intention of continuing to France to report to Colbert and others, as requested by Bishop Pallu.

City, in Chinese dress, upon St Joseph's Day [19 March] at which I was well satisfy'd for I have a special Devotion to that saint—as we all should. A month earlier I had said I would be content to land that day but later repented as then it had seem'd so long a time to wait; but He, Who is, did arrange it so.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MY STAY IN LISBON, AND JOURNEY TO ROME

1. I am satisfied I have forgot several Particulars among such variety of Accidents I have seen in the course of so many Years. I omitted one remarkable thing concerning the Island Ceylon, which is a vast high Mountain, the Portugueses and others call Pico de Adan, or Adam's Clift; it ends above in a Point sharp to appearance, whither they say our first Parent ascended; this is grounded on that Opinion which maintains that Paradise is there. The Beauty, Fruitfulness, and Pleasantness of the Place makes for it. They have less to show for it who place it in the Island Zibu, or that of the Name of Jesus, which is one of the Philippine Islands; and I wonder some Authors have not placed it in China, for what was written of Paradise is much more easily to be realiz'd there.

2. I writ nothing concerning Cambaya, a Kingdom subject to the Mogol, because I came not into it. The Agate-stone is found there, and there is so much of it, so cheap, and so curiously wrought, sold at Suratte, that it is wonderful to behold.

3. I reach'd Europe, after almost fifteen months sailing from China. I gave a larger turn about the World than Magellan, for he was neither at Coromandel, Suratte, nor Madagascar; he return'd not to Europe as I have done, God be prais'd. I have been in all four parts of the World, for Madagascar, St Helena, and Ascension, are parts of Africk. I have gone through such diversity of Climates, and tasted such variety of Water, Fruit, and other Food, that I believe few men can match me. It appears what Seas I have sailed, and now, lastly, going to Rome, and returning, I have travers'd the Mediterranean. One said, that the greatest Miracle God had wrought in small matters was the variety of

Faces: I have seen such total diversity of different faces that I could safely wager few have seen more. In America, besides the Cachupines, which are those that go over from Spain, I have seen these several sorts of People, call'd Criollos, Mesticos, Casticos, Indians, Mulatoes, Cambahijos, Tornaatras and Tente enelayre.[1] In the Philippine Islands there are still more mixtures, besides Foreign Nations. Afterwards I saw Chineses, Tartars, Japoneses, Tunquines, Cochinchineses, Cambosans, Siamites, Corians, Laos, Malayes, Mindanaos, Joloes, Zamboangas, Camucones, Javans, Sumatrans, Macasars, Solors, Borneans, Nicobars, Ceylonites, Nasingans, Malabares, Bengalans, Golcondars, Mogols,[2] Persians, Armenians and Turks. In Europe, Spaniards, French, Italians, English, Dutch, Flemings, Germans, Suissers, and Natives of Malta and Oran, and many others; and yet among them all never found two exactly alike.

4. At Suratte there was an Ambassador from the Great Turk to the Mogol, a handsom and brave Youth; he and his Men did Wonders when Subagi attack'd that City, but neither he nor the rest could prevent the plundering of that City by the Enemy.

5. Since it pleas'd God to bring me safe off the Sea, and set me ashore in Europe, let us conclude the Voyage. The River up to the City of Lisbon, and higher, is one of the finest in the World; and were it as pleasant as that of Goa, all others must yield to it. The Palace is good, I was told it was built by Philip the Second, and so the Citadel. There I heard many things, which I think should lie bury'd in Oblivion, that future Ages may not have cause to condemn or rail at this. The City is very handsom, the Buildings low, Provisions plenty, the People courteous; but all that have not been abroad imagine there is nothing in the World so good as in their Country; a great Absurdity, which some are so far led away with, as even to conceit there is no good Wine in Spain. Our Monastery of St Dominick is celebrated. There at the entrance to

[1] Cachupines was a mestizo name for Spaniards in Mexico, and means 'spur-boots'. *Castiço* means a child born in India to Portuguese parents (Dalgado, I, 229). For Tente-en-el-aire, and others of the *'larga y ridicula clasificación'* of castes, see Riva Palacio, II, 472, 669, and also Leonard, 50–1.

[2] In Iberian writers Mogol or Mogor often means Hindostan or the territory of the Great Mogul (*Hobson-Jobson*, 570).

the Chappel is the magnificent Tomb of the most Venerable Father of the Spiritual Life, the Master Lewis of Granada, known in all the World for his Virtues and writings. It would take up a particular Volume to particularize with what Love, Kindness and Zeal those good Fathers entertain'd me: The most Reverend Fryar Peter de Magallanes [Pedro de Magalhães OP] President of the Inquisition, was wonderful kind to me. I visited the Count de Umanes [Baltasar de Humanes] then Ambassador there, saw his splendid Entry, and he bountifully assisted me toward my Journey to Madrid. At that time there were some Rumours about a War with Spain; the Nobility were for it, saying, they should get their Bread that way. The People opposed it, and the Religious Orders more than the rest: Sermons were preach'd in several Monasteries against those restless Spirits. I heard the same in the Monastery of St Dominick; and the Professor Surero the King's Preacher, said, 'The Angels will fight against us, because there is no Pretence to justify this War.' They told me the reason that convinced them: 'Father, the Controversy was, Whether Portugal belong'd to Castile, or not? No Man in this Kingdom ever said or imagin'd that Castile belong'd to Portugal; then what Pretence or Reason is there to commence this War?'

6. I was told several Expressions Preachers had us'd in the Pulpits while the Wars lasted, and had before read some in a certain Author's printed Sermons.[1] One of our Dominican friars took too much liberty once in this particular, either in order to accommodate himself to the rest or else sway'd by natural love for his Country. That Night our Provincial held a Chapter and said, 'It is allowable we should wish to have a King of our own for several Reasons; but it is unreasonable that any of us who have receiv'd such signal Favours from the Kings of Castile, should speak ill of them; and therefore I am so far from allowing of this that I will punish it severely.' For this Reason the Dominicans were suspected, because they did not rail but maintained a just Silence. Yet they easily clear'd themselves, and gave satisfaction.

[1] Probably a reference to the uninhibited Jesuit preacher António Vieira, who was critical of the Dominicans and regarded Spain as the *'inimiga irreconciliável'* (Rodrigues, *História*, III, pt. i, 398, 446; J. Azevedo, *História de António Vieira*,

7. I spent the Holy Week at Lisbon and lik'd it well; visited the Sepulchers, which are very fine, that of the Dominicans is noble; I was at the celebrating of the Feast of St Peter Martyr [29 April], which was perform'd with magnificence; the Inquisitor-General, Duke of Aveiro, was present.[1] About the middle of May I set out for Madrid; ⟨I travell'd from Monastery to Monastery of our Order along the way as far as Badajoz and was charitably entertain'd; there I receiv'd an Alms of the Lord Bishop and met up with a Carter who brought me, Wet and Fine, Light, Dark, along with him on a Mule. [*C* 602]⟩ By the Way I heard many Stories that told against us Spaniards; I admir'd the Fort of Elvas and how the Work there daily advanc'd and was no less astonish'd that nothing was being done at Badajoz.[2]

8. In eleven Days I reach'd Madrid, the Court of our Kings, 26 Years, and three Months, after I left Valladolid. Many things I saw and heard that surprised me but the World being changeable, Worldlings are so too. St Augustin says, 'He that knows thee not, loves thee; but he that knows thee, hates thee.'

9. My business belonging to the Court of Rome, I presently began to dispose of my Affairs to that end. I saw Letters at Lisbon and Madrid from Cardinal Barbarini, in which he desir'd some Information for the Holy Congregation concerning the Mission of China. I gave a short account of the most material Points, reserving the rest till my arrival at the Court of Rome. I set out in September following [1672], with Letters from some great Men. At Carthagena I had the good fortune to wait upon the Dutchess of Osuna. Our Voyage was tedious and troublesom, we stay'd 29 or 30 days at Cadaques. Don Pagano de Oria, who commanded the Galleys for his Nephew, dy'd there; he was a worthy Gentleman, I assisted him at his death. The pious Dutchess gave a very good Example on that Voyage in praying and bestowing Alms. The Lady Elizabeth Formento a devout Matron,

(Lisbon, 1920), II, 341, 347; Vieira, *Cartas* (Coimbra, 1926), II, 547; Barbosa Machado, I, 408–18).

[1] Pedro de Lencastre, 5th Duke of Aveiro, Archbishop of Sidonia, and Inquisitor-General.

[2] The point of this remark is that these two frontier towns (Elvas on the Portuguese side, Badajoz on the Spanish) had been the scene of a Spanish defeat in 1659.

was with her and so the Great Cabin was like a Chappel, Prayers almost continual, and much frequenting of the Sacraments. 10. We struck across the Bay with fair Weather, and were nobly receiv'd at Final [Finale Borgo] by the Duke, who there expected his Wife and Niece.[1] I went on to Genoa in one of the Galleys, without setting foot ashore. A few days after I went to Leghorn with good Company, but cold and foul Weather; I came thither sick, and was taken care of in the Hospital of St John of God, where I was look'd to with great assiduousness and charity. I came to Rome with much difficulty on the Day of the Epiphany 1673. Soon after there came to my hands a considerable Alms sent me by Bill from Milan by the Duke of Osuna. I began to treat about my Affairs, kiss'd his Holiness's Foot [Clement X] twice; he entertain'd me with wonderful Goodness; I was much edify'd at his great Humility, and the Poverty I saw in his little Room. On both occasions he granted me many Indulgences for myself relatives and others. I convers'd with some Cardinals, particularly Ottoboni, Bona, Maximis, Porto Carero; and lastly Cardinal Casanata. Cardinal Borromeo dy'd presently after my arrival, which troubled me much for the miss I had of him. I spent sixteen Months in the approving of the Propositions I deliver'd to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide; I gave in several Informations, presented Manuscripts, translated Chinese Books by order of the Congregation.[2] They refer'd the Matter to the Inquisitors, and they to the Consultors and Qualificators. In fine, in March 1674, by direction from the Holy Office, the Cardinals Bona and Casanata, met with the most Reverend Frier Lawrence [Brancati di] Lauria and Frier Cajetan Mirabol; they debated the Points, and what the two most Reverend Fathers had decreed, which they approv'd and confirm'd, which set at ease and satisfy'd me, after I had gone through some Particulars, which I reserve for a proper time.[3]

[1] Gaspar Téllez Girón (1625–94), Duke of Osuna, Marquis of Peñafiel, Governor of Milan.

[2] Part of the *Controversias* was also written in Rome (*C* 416).

[3] *T* 483–514 give the *Dubia* proposed for solution and Navarrete's comments thereupon. He also hoped for an annulment of the decree given to Martini in 1656; in this he was disappointed, and piqued (*T* 466, 490).

11. I had before urg'd strong Arguments and Reasons for the making one of my Order, who is a Native of China [Gregory Lo] into a Bishop, since the Bishop-Missioners who were at Siam could not get into China. All the Holy Congregation agreed to it. I also pressed for the confirming of the Bull of Urban VIII, which empowers Missioners to go to Japan and China from all Parts and by all Routes.[1] ⟨This was done without its costing me more urging than the speaking of a Word with the Secretary of Propaganda Fide. [*C* 476][2]⟩ The Resident of Portugal[3] oppos'd this strongly alledging that all those Kingdoms belong to the Portuguese Conquests. Much may be said to this Point. The Portuguese will not be convinc'd: first, that Japan falls within the Limits assigned to the West-Indies, which is beyond all dispute. In the next place, till this time, they never made any Conquest there, and they will never do so in the future. 3. If once they get wind in those Parts that such a thing as 'Conquest' is being mention'd, they will not leave one European alive there. 4. That from Singapore upwards no part is or can be call'd East-India, as I have heard the Portugueses themselves own; otherwise the Chineses, Japoneses, and other Nations, would all be Indians, which is not so. But the Designs and Motives of the Portuguese being in reality of another nature, there is no discussing it, as they themselves own. In short, Urban the Eighth, Alexander the Seventh, and Clement the Tenth, who now governs the Church, order'd that none shall prevent any Missioner and they lay heavy Censures upon those that shall obstruct their orders. But the best of it is, that I resided some time at Lisbon in view of all that Court, was known to be a Missioner of China, had several questions put to me concerning that Country, particularly by the Inquisitor-General, Duke of Aveiro, and yet no body ever thought of mentioning this Point [the Portuguese 'monopoly' of

[1] A bull of Clement VIII (*Onerosa pastoralis*, 1600) had declared that friars might go to China; this was confirmed and extended by Urban VIII (*Ex debito pastoralis officii*, 1633). This breaking of the Jesuits' monopoly was now confirmed by the brief obtained by Navarrete (*Injuncti nobis*, 23 December 1673) the text of which is given in *T* 515–18.

[2] The Secretary was Federico Baldeschi Colonna, later Cardinal.

[3] Gaspar de Abreu de Freitas.

China] to me; and yet when I came to Rome, the [Portuguese] Resident quarrel'd with me on account that we Spaniards go by the way of Manila into China, a thing ridiculous in it self; I have said before this proceeded from other grounds. Cardinal Ottoboni several times told me, it was convenient I should return to China as Bishop of that Mission. I declar'd my opinion concerning it; he threatned to have it forc'd upon me; which I dreaded, but prevail'd with him to desist from his Intent. ⟨I excused myself again and again, and he asking me the reason for it, I anser'd and said, 'My Lord, because I have not the Strength to endure the Law-sutes and Oppositions of ***.' He arch'd his Brows, saying to me, 'What's this, your reverence is saying?' I reply'd, 'My Lord, if Your Eminence were to go to China yourself, you would not escape them.'[1]

Talking of those Bishop-Missioners who are in Siam and their Companions, some Secular Priests, they are all Men of known Virtue, very exemplary for Poverty, Humility and other Circumstances of Edification, unblamable in their duty of Preaching the Gospel, which all that part of the World highly extols.[2] Nevertheless, for their Good, and for that of others, God has given them certain opponents, who leave nothing that belongs to them which they do not bespatter. These give out that their Virtue is counterfeited so that they may lead the People after them, and in order to gain applause; that they are Jansenists, and more to this effect.[3] When I was discoursing concerning this matter with Cardinal Bona, whose Soul I hope is in Heaven, he was out of patience,

[1] A reference to the Jesuits and Portuguese. Navarrete's prophecy proved true: not even a red hat saved the Legate, Tournon, from detention in Macao where he eventually died.

[2] These were the French Vicars-Apostolic appointed by Propaganda Fide, whose presence in the East was resented by both the Portuguese and the Jesuits.

[3] Jansenism was a serious charge, equivalent in modern terms to an accusation of 'fellow-travelling'. It was alleged against Navarrete ('Ends', f. 46v.; Cortés Osorio, 149) and Bishop Pallu (*C* 625, 637). There is no evidence of Jansenism proper in the Spanish Church (R. Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1958), 15–17) but the Jesuits found it a useful label to affix to their critics in Spain. Navarrete complained of those 'who go about the Tribunals distributing little Scrols marked *N. is a Jansenist and so is NN.* The Jansenists triumph when they see blameless Churchmen accused of their Doctrine by Catholics' (*C* 634).

and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said to me, 'What! to be poor; to pray and to exhort the Faithful to do the same; to lead an exemplary Life; and to preach like the Apostles: is that Jansenism? O, if we were all Jansenists after that Style the world would indeed be in another condition than we see it is!'

In a letter from Manila on 31st May 1674 Friar Juan de los Angeles writ me as follows: 'Friar Raymund [del Valle] and Friar Francisco Varo say that when considering your Reverence's departure from China and your Journey, they are consol'd because they await some good Result of it, if your Reverence should come face to face with Father Prosper Intorceta in Rome. May our Lord grant it be so.' And Friar Varo writ him in a letter on 11 February 1673, 'the departure of Friar Domingo Navarrete for Rome, I reckon to be more than necessary, for the good of Souls, and the Peace and Union of the Ministers of the Gospel in this Kingdom, because now there are in Rome Father Intorceta, learned in the Chinese Books, and Friar Navarrete, no less learned than he is in this. For nothing will ever be concluded in this Affair unless two experienced Missioners, representatives of the two Religious Orders [Jesuits and Dominicans], meet before the Cardinals, there to dispute and argue this Matter, the final Solution of which we long for so much.'

And I was very desirous to have found in Rome Father Intorceta, a Sicilian who had been a Missioner in China with me, and my Companion in the Persecution and Banishment. But what I believe is that he, getting notice of my going thence to that Court, did set off immediately for France to carry Missioners to China.[1]⟩

12. At my departure from Rome, they search'd my Portmantua,

[1] *T* 92–3, 465–6; *C* 645; 'Ends', f. 46r. In Genoa, on his way to Rome, friar Domingo visited the local Jesuits, and while there he met a Father from Macao (*C* 476). Navarrete apparently suspected, perhaps as a result of some dispute between them, that these Jesuits wrote to Rome, warning Father Intorcetta of Navarrete's impending arrival there. But it seems improbable that Intorcetta fled, as suggested here; he was, no doubt, anxious to return to the mission with his volunteers and already sufficiently depressed by his failure to make any impact on the Curia, a failure of which he was acutely aware and over which he brooded for years (Verbiest, 351). He later wrote a reply to Navarrete (Pfister, 326).

found 3000 Medals given me by the Holy Congregation of Propaganda and Cardinal Portocarero; they told me, I must pay so much Duty for them. This provok'd and anger'd me; I answer'd, they were given me for Charity, as in truth they were, that I would pay nothing, they might take them if they pleas'd, and I would go complain to the Cardinal-Nephew [Altieri]. With that they let me pass. I was told there, that searching the Wallets of a Religious of the Order of St John of God, they found in them a new pair of Shoos; and because all new things pay, they made him pay Duty for them; he went out again within a few days, without having worn the Shoos; they found them, and made him pay the Duty over again. Were this known in China, the Mogol's Country, or other of those Parts, they would say we were the worst People in the World. I had Company with me; the Boatmen did not fail of playing us Pranks, and we had bad Weather. We came first to Civita Vecchia, thence to Leghorn, and very leasurely to Genoa, where we waited eight days for Shipping. We were there on the Feast of Corpus Christi; I admir'd that the Cross of every Brotherhood had its Mark of Distinction; that of the Bakers had Loaves; that of the Fishermen, Fishes; that of the Pastry-Cooks, Saucidges, &c. I saw the Church of Annunciata, a beautiful Piece; but he who has seen St Peter's at Rome, and the rest of the Churches of that City, admires at none: Every time I went into St Peter's which was often, I was amaz'd at its Beauty and Greatness, and my Heart rejoyc'd in me. In Rome I visited the Seven Churches, saw the Holy Places, variety of Relicks, the Vatican, some Palaces, Cavalcades, and other things needless to repeat.

13. After 8 days stay at Genoa I went aboard an English Pink with some other Spaniards. I agreed for my Diet, and a place in the great Cabin at an easy Rate. I liv'd well enough, the Master and the Mate were very civil, they had no more Officers. We sailed upon our Broadside five days, the Wind being at North-East; my Companions were wonderful Sea-sick, I have been free from it for many Years. In the Afternoons the Seamen had such ridiculous Sports as made us almost burst with laughing. The eighth day we landed at Alicant; some of us took up in certain Waggons, in

which we came leisurely, and indifferent easy. I was amaz'd to see so much Desert-Country, and so bare of Food that we could scarce get Bread. ⟨Oh, who doubts the woes and miseries of our Spain? Who is there that does not weep over them? What Nation but knows them well and has them considered? Who is unaware of the misfortunes of these Years? For they grieve all Men. [*C* 625]⟩ At Albacete I paid a Duty on my Portmantua, which was the first time I had done that in all my Travels. I came to Madrid upon Midsummer-day in the Year 1674, and there I paid a quarter of a Piece of Eight, and they would have had more, tho I had nothing but Papers, Medals and two old dirty Shirts. The Clerk demanded a Ryall for his signature, I gave him four Quartos; he said an Ochavo was lacking. I had none at hand and gave him an Indulgence Medall saying 'This is worth more.' But the old Fellow had an air of preferring his Ochavo to any four Medalls. Good God! What People they are, and yet they say the Chineses are covetous; they who are Strangers to our Proceedings may say so, but not they that are acquainted with them.

⟨All the City, I found, was in Confusion; many Men were perplexed and the majority were made fearful by the dark Clouds dayly looming up and publick Prayers were being offer'd for the Peace, Quiet and Tranquility of the Kingdom. God takes Pity on Spain, shewing unto her a Merciful Heart, and His Divine and Special Providence, granting the Glorious Prince [Don John of Austria] to come to this Court of Spain to make good so much Damage and amend so many patent Errors. I reflected, and with great Reason, upon this Occasion, that the coming of his Highness (whom God preserve!) to the side of our King and Lord, CHARLES II, for his Comfort and for the increase of his Kingdoms, had been miraculous. Who was there at that time that did not fear that the Ship of Spain would sink buffeted by Contrary Winds? Who that did not fear some Calamity in view of the many storm Clouds dayly rising both over this Court and in other Parts? All was agitation, all was Gloom, all was Fear, and such Confusion predict'd an untoward Outcome. And tho his Majesty's Loyal Subjects row'd with all effort, yet the Tempest did not cease. Then in the East, a fair Planet that seem'd resting in

Sleep, did stir. Just then, the wind of Confusion seem'd to be rising worse, but when this Planet unexpectedly arriv'd, upon a Saturday, the day dedicated to the shining Star of the Sea, MARY, behold there was made a great Peace.[1] The Heavens suddenly clear'd; the Clouds dissolved all away; the Court was quieted; Hearts were calm'd, enjoying a tranquility that came of a sudden, and expect'd by but few. All Men wonder and ask, 'Who is this that rules the Hearts of Spain? Who holds the Will of all Men? Who, when absent, arouses affectionate Yearnings and who, when present, causes Joy, Pleasure, Peace, Calm, and Rest?' He, who is great, works these Wonders and brings Happiness to his Subjects; he, who is generous, magnanimous, and zealous, who watches vigilantly for the Welfare of the Commonweal. There's Matter and Occasion here for a great Book, but my Pen is too rough for such a Subject and thus I leave this Point to those more learned and gifted. [*C* 614]⟩

14. Soon afterwards at Madrid I heard News from China, by Letters from thence, and from the Philippine Islands.[2] I understood that the Missioners were restor'd to their Churches, but upon condition they should not preach the Word of God; and the Natives were forbid to imbrace it, which is a great trouble, but it may mend by degrees, on account of the Chineses dependence on the Mathematicks, but I could wish it were upon some better Motive. I was also inform'd that the English have settled a Factory in the Island Hermosa, and that the Chinese that is Lord

[1] In the Catholic calendar, Saturday is our Lady's day. This is a reference to Saturday 23 January 1677, when Don John of Austria entered Madrid to take over the government; there was widespread fear that his arrival would provoke civil war and his pacific entry delighted the people. Navarrete's praise was written a few months after this event, when high hopes were still entertained of Don John's ability to save the country.

[2] Excerpts at *C* 667–8; 'Ends', 431. The writers complain of continued Jesuit opposition to the entry of friars into China. At the end of the persecution one of the friars, Varo, was not named in the list of liberated prisoners; the Jesuits at court promised to intercede for him but he came to suspect that nothing was being done. The local Mandarin eventually released him, arranging for him to lodge in Father Gouveia's house, 'which', reported Varo, 'was far from agreeable to that Father: thus he regretted it because I stayed; and I, because I could not leave' (CASA 1074, ff. 298–9; but cf. the Jesuit version of the affair in Pfister, 222, 348). Similar allegations in *C* 101–2, 419; AME 121, ff. 236–8; *SinFran* III, 100.

of it design'd to have made War upon Manila, but desisted at the perswasion of his Mother. The Cause that mov'd him to have thoughts of War, was, that at Manila they apprehended a Captain of his, whom they took in the Act of Sodomy. The Chinese being inform'd of it, writ to the Governor, and sent a Present, desiring he would send him the Criminal, and he would punish him. The Governor answer'd, 'That it was an Affair which the Court of Justice took cognisance of, and he had nothing to do with', and return'd no Present, which the other highly resented. The Dutch offer'd the Governor thirty Ships to assist him against the Chinese, and what else he wanted, but he accepted of nothing. He afterwards sent Don Francis Enriquez de Losada his Ambassador to the Island Hermosa, and they were made Friends. From thence Don Francis, who is my particular Friend, went over to Macao: Among other News he carry'd from thence to Manila, one piece was, that some Religious of the Order of St Francis coming to that City in order to pass over into China, certain Churchmen hindred them and to that purpose show'd the Captain-General [of Macao] a Letter of King Philip the Second, ordering it so to be done. However the Captain-General would neither see nor hear, and the Franciscans went over; so that the Laity does not obstruct the Missioners, but Clergymen do. (But the Letters I receiv'd this Year say, those Franciscan Religious did not get into China.)

15. Supposing it be true that Philip the Second gave such Orders, three Popes afterwards commanded the contrary, so what signifys that Letter to Macao, which anyway is not now under our Spanish Government?

16. Don Francis in another Letter of his from Siam, among other things has these words: 'The King [Narai] did me the favour to show me the white Elephant, and I did not imagine he would have appear'd in such rich Trappings; before him went above 600 Men as his Guard, all with several Weapons; after them the white Elephant under a Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, the Rods that held it up all cover'd with Plates of Gold; the Elephant had about his Body Diamonds, Pearls, Rubies and Emrauds, they seem'd to be well worth two Millions. He is one

of the haughtiest and mightiest Kings, not only in this Archipelago, but in the whole World. He calls himself God, none of his Subjects must see, or look at him, upon pain of Death. None that does not see, can believe with how great Pomp he goes abroad. Your Reverence is acquainted with these Affairs, but those who are strangers to them will believe it false.'[1]

17. For my part I believe it all. As for the Embassy, Don Francis affirms he stood out, and would not deliver his Message barefoot, as all other European Ambassadors have done; he went in shod, so that it remains as a Precedent for the Spaniards. And for all this King's Pride, we see that for his private Interest and Advantage, he submits to pay Tribute to the Emperor of China, which is very base and mean.

18. He calls himself a God, which is not rare among the Kings in those parts where there are many Nebuchadnezzars. The King of Candia, who is Lord of Ceylon, and who has not the 20th part of the Greatness of him of Siam, has most lofty Titles and Epithets. But he that outdoes all the rest in this particular, is the great Mogol, King of Kings, Lord of Heaven and Earth, Almighty, and many other Titles he assumes; and all their Pains, Diseases, and Sufferings, cannot undeceive them, nor even Death which they see has taken off their Predecessors. But how can the Understanding be free from dismal Darkness, when it wants the supernatural Light? The Chinese Emperor ever was, and is, more modest and humble, tho his Subjects extol him above the Moon.

[1] Narai (1657–88) was friendly to the missionaries but his successor, P'ra P'etraja, was not and in 1688 persecution began (F. J. Montalbán, *Manual de historia de las misiones* (Bilbao, 1952), 515; A. Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Étrangères* (Paris, 1894), I, 345 ff.; and W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam* (Bangkok, 1933), 212, 216–18).

CHAPTER XXXI

SOME THINGS ADDED RELATING TO WHAT HAS BEEN ALREADY WRIT

1. After putting an end to my Travels, I have remembred some Passages that will suffice to make up another Chapter; and I doubt not but if I would give my self time to reflect upon what I have seen, I might find matter to dilate even further upon. ⟨Since because it is China that all my thoughts are bent upon, I cannot chuse but return to it, tho' at present it shall be very briefly. [*T* 442]⟩

2. I spoke something of the Civility, Modesty, and good Behaviour of the Chinese Soldiery; and considering the Experience I had of it, I might well have enlarg'd upon the Subject. Methinks the Chineses observe what the Emperor Aurelianus writ to one of his Lieutenants: 'Friend, says he, if you would be a good Commander, and desire to live, keep your Soldiers within bounds: I will not have the Country-man complain, that a Chicken or a Bunch of Grapes is forcibly taken from him; I will call them to account for a Grain of Salt, or drop of Oil, they have unjustly made use of. I will have my Soldiers grow rich with the Spoils of their Enemies, not with the Tears and Sweat of my Subjects. I will have them wear their Riches on their Backs, not lavish them in Taverns; I will have them chaste in their Quarters, and no Complaints come against them.' St Lewis King of France could not have given better Instructions to those that serv'd in his Armies. Marcus Scaurus writes, that he saw numbers of Soldiers lying under a great Tree loaded with Fruit, and none of them stretch'd out his hand to gather an Apple. Nor will that be thought strange which Lampridius writes of Alexander Severus, that the Soldiers march'd to the Persian War as if they had been Senators, and that the Country people lov'd them as if they had

been their Brothers, and honour'd the Emperor as a God. All this I saw in effect practis'd in China; when five, or six, or more Companies came into a Town, it is no otherwise than if half a dozen honest known Guests were coming; no Man is disturb'd, no body is in a Consternation, or hides, as we see they do in other parts where they are under greater Ties. Many Men seem to perswade themselves, that the Day they are listed and appear in Arms, they are to lay aside all Christianity; this we daily see there is no denying of it.

3. Punishment is very material, every man's Chin trembles when he knows for certain there is no Pardon. The Chineses make good use of this Method. Complaint was made at Fo Ngan, that some Soldiers had stole a Hen; the Captain who liv'd near the Church, inquir'd into the Matter, and gave the Signal that he would sit to try it. I presently went up into a Garret, the Window whereof overlook'd all the Court-yard, and part of the Room where he sate in Judgment; I stood a while to observe what was done, tho somewhat back that I might not be seen: There was no hearing what they said, but the result of it was, that they stretch'd out a Soldier upon his Face in the Court-yard, and laying his Thighs bare, began to bastinado him with thick Cudgels, that I wonder they did not kill him: It made my Heart ake, and I observ'd that after one Blow was given, till the other fell, that Wretches flesh shook so that it was terrible to behold. I went down immediately, having no Heart to see that cruel Execution. Who will dare to offend, seeing such Punishments?

4. It is usual about the beginning of August to have a terrible storm of East-Winds on the Coast of China, which the Portugueses and others call Tufon [Typhoon], a corruption of the Chinese name Tung Fung, that is, Easterly Wind. The Seamen dread it, and always endeavour to get into, or reach, Harbour before it comes. It sometimes reaches as far as Manila, the Indians call it Baguio. I have felt it, and indeed it is terrible, and does much hurt among Buildings, Sugar-Canes, and other Products of the Earth.[1] Here at home I have read that of late Years these Storms

[1] For the etymology of the word 'typhoon', see *Hobson-Jobson*, 947; for the Philippine baguios, see Schurz, 217.

have decreas'd and lessned; but those who live in those Parts had had no notice of this decrease apparently, for I have discours'd Spaniards and Portugueses about these Tufons, and could never find there was any alteration in them. There is no necessity of multiplying Miracles, or attributing them to any body without Cause.[1]

5. The Kingdom of Cochinchina lies betwixt Tunquin and Champa; the Country is good, and abounds in Silk; they trade from thence to Manila, whither they carry Curiosities from Japan, those People having a Trade there. They have also sail'd thither from Manila; sometimes they have made good Returns, and other times through the private Fancies of some Men have lost all. The Soldiery of this Kingdom is the best in all those Parts, is well-disciplin'd, and the King keeps 40000 Men at Court who most days shoot at a Mark and those that aim best are rewarded with pieces of Silk. I have several times heard Spaniards and Portugueses say, they are all excellent Marks-men; and that the words of Judges 20. 16. cannot be better applyed to any People in the World than to those of Cochinchina. This is the Reason they have always the better in their continual Wars with the King of Tunquin, tho this last exceeds the other in all respects, not only in number of Men, but in Wealth, and the multitude of Elephants he carrys to War. They have also many light Galleys, with which they do Wonders in the great River that runs up to the Court. There is no doubt but the Europeans have furnish'd that and other powerful Kingdoms, having provided them Fire-Arms, Cannon and Gunners. There is at present in Cochinchina, a half-Black of Portuguese Breed, who in my time was made Knight of the Order of Christ; he is an able Officer, an excellent Founder, and very curious at making Chain-Bullets, and other warlike Instruments.

6. The Kingdom of Camboxa [Cambodia] lies more to the South in the Latitude of Manila, and therefore, as Authors write, the People are less warlike; and as daily Experience shows, they

[1] A reference to the popular legend that the China Sea typhoons were never as violent after St Francis Xavier sailed over those waters. For denying this Navarrete was denounced as a 'Judas' (Cortés Osorio, 118), and defended himself at *C* 661.

have but little Blood, and are afraid to lose it. That King is not so well armed as others. Manila has always had a Trade with that Country, which has excellent Timber for Shipping. Some years since the people of Manila built one there which was famous, and the memory of that 'Ship of Camboxa' lasts to this very day. Another was built in my time, but perish'd unfortunately. It has often been argued at Manila, whether it be more advantageous to build Shipping in our Islands, or in Foreign Kingdoms, Camboxa, Siam, &c. I have heard Arguments on both sides, and read printed Memorials upon the Subject at Madrid: It is not easy to decide.[1] Those that are for building abroad favour the Indians, tho some will not have it so. Certain it is, they that do not groan under the Labour, do not like it; I do not design to concern my self with these Affairs, but it can be no harm to repeat what others say. I often heard it said, by a Person of Judgment and well-meaning, that the best way was to buy Ships of the English or Portugueses of those Countries, who build good ones and so strong, that they sail them into Europe. I must confess I saw an English Frigat of 40 Guns at Malaca, and was a good while aboard it with some Portugueses; it might appear with credit any where, it carried 40 Guns, and the Captain did assure me it did not cost full 8000 Pieces of Eight. The Ship, which in the Year 1665 was forced from Macao to Manila, and so much commended by all Men at the Port of Cavite because of its goodness, was taken by the Governor Don John de Salcedo to sail to Acapulco, had been built at Goa, and cost not 7000 Pieces of Eight; I sail'd in it four months, which is enough to know whether it was good: And if every Ship were to cost Manila ten or twelve thousand Pieces of Eight, it were too cheap. I did not mention Camboxa to this purpose, tho I am not sorry it came into my mind; my design was to give an account that [at Angkor] sixty Leagues up the River [Mekong] beyond the Court [Udong] there are certain beautiful Buildings, with the most curious Work-

[1] On the problem of ship-building in the Philippines, see Schurz, 193–200. On Navarrete's references to the 'Cambodia ship', see C. R. Boxer and B. P. Groslier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au xvi^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958), 126.

manship imaginable; the Relation of their Excellency and Perfection which was brought to Manila astonish'd all Men. I sent that which I had from Don Francis Enriquez de Losada into Spain as a Rarity, there is no inserting of it in this place. The Work, some say, was done by the Jews, others that it is Roman: Some will have it to be the Work of Alexander the Great, who they fancy travelled thus far, and order'd that stately Palace to be built as a Memorial to Posterity of his being there.[1] It consists of Square Courts and Cloisters, as they are in fashion at present, but no part is without fine Mouldings and Carvings, it is the Aranjuez of those Kings.[2] When Don James de Losada went over thither to build the Ship I said was cast away, the King [Barom Reachea VI; 1642–58] was there taking his Pleasure, and therefore the Spaniards went up thither and saw this Wonder. Above it is the large Kingdom of the Laos, a Country abounding in Musk, Civit, Frankinsense, Benjamin and Storax, which Commodities they carry to Manila, and thence they are sent into New Spain. The Country swarms with People; on the West it borders upon Siam, on the North it draws near to the Kingdom of Tibet; North-west of it is Bengala, and then it stretches a little up to the Mogol's Dominions; lower is Narsinga, but at a considerable distance.

7. I have writ something concerning the Kingdom of Siam; it is certainly very great and powerful, and crossing it by Land you come to Tanassary [Tenasserim], a famous Port of great Trade; they that take this way need not come within many Leagues of Malaca or Sincapura, the way is shorter and saves much Sea. They travel in Carts about twenty days Journey, and go in Caravans, but seldom lie in any Town. At night they enclose themselves with their Carts and Blankets, to keep off the many Elephants there are about the Fields. And tho that Defence would avail but little should any Elephant attack it, yet it serves to scare

[1] The buildings, as they stood in their splendour, were described by a Chinese visitor, Chou Ta-kuan, as early as the thirteenth century.

[2] Aranjuez was a summer palace of the Spanish kings, started by Philip II, and famous for the beauty of its buildings and gardens. To maintain a rural atmosphere it was forbidden to build or live near there until the middle of the eighteenth century.

them so that they do not gather near it; thus Men and Beasts lie in safety. At Tenasarim there are always Vessels to go over to Coromandel, Bengala, and other Parts; this is a convenient way for those that have not much Baggage. The chief thing the Moors deal in from that part is Elephants, they are cheaper than those of Ceylon, but not so noble.

8. Frier Letona, cap. 2. n. 26 speaking of the Gulph of Sincapura, in his 'Description of the Philippine Islands', says, it is the way to the Gulph of Goa, the Court of India: A very improper expression, for there is no such thing as a Gulph of Goa (though Gulphs of Bengala and Ceylon there are) and that City is seated almost in the midst of the Coast of Malabar, which stretches out North and South from Cape Comorin to Suratte.[1] North-west of Suratte is the Kingdom of Cambaya [Cambay], Tributary to the Mogol, where there is abundance of Agate: abundance of it is wrought at Suratte, and very cheap, as I observ'd before. At Macasar I read in a Spanish Book call'd '*Prado Espiritual*', written by Santoro, that the first Velvet ever was seen in Europe, came from this Kingdom.[2] In the time of the Roman Power that King sent a Present, and among other things, some Pieces of Velvet up the Gulph of Persia, and thence by Land, which was easy enough; the way is well known.

9. As to Philip the Second of Spain's Letter, which I said was shown to the Captain General of Macao, forbidding any Body from the Philippine Islands to pass that way into China; I say they cannot make use of it, for as much as Pope Urban the Eighth publish'd his Bull some Years since at Macao, forbidding any Person under heavy Censures to hinder Missioners from going into China and other Parts, what way soever they could find out. Is the Papal Bull obligatory or not? If Obligatory it takes off all dependence on that Letter, if not we must have recourse to the Supreme Judg [the Pope]. I did so, and Clement the Tenth, who now governs the Church, confirm'd the said Bull in all its Parts;

[1] Friar Bartolomé de Letona, OFM, was a contemporary of Navarrete in the Philippines (Streit, v, 292, 330; Blair, LIII, 120).

[2] J. B. Santoro, a sixteenth-century Spanish writer, author of *Prado espiritual de Sophronio* (Saragossa, 1578), a work which went into four editions subsequently.

if this be not enough, we must bear our Neighbours Adversity with patience. And to take away all colour of Authority from that Letter of Philip the Second I will here insert what Philip the Fourth in his Councils of Portugal and India decreed, in 23 January 1632. 1. That in regard the Right and Duty of preaching and dilating the Gospel is common to all the Faithful, and particularly recommended to Religious; therefore the Missions of Japan and China are not to be confin'd to the Jesuit Fathers alone, but all Orders have liberty to go thither, and get in the best they can, particularly those who have been allow'd to go over to the West-Indies and have Monasteries there. 2. That they go not only by way of the East, but of the West-Indies, within whose Limits Japan and the Philippine Islands are, and which is the most convenient Passage for the Religious of Castile. There follow nine other Heads, which in effect Pope Urban mentions in his Bull of 1633. So that the prohibition of any others going to Japan except the Jesuits, and that by way of the East-Indies, is taken off by the Pope, the King and Council of Portugal. The same for China and other Kingdoms.

10. There are some things to be observ'd in the Description of Manila, and other Islands in that Sea, written by Frier Letona, whom I knew and convers'd with at Manila. Tho this Father was curious in observing and enquiring, yet he never going further than Manila, could not be an Eye-witness of what he says, nor be exact in all things.

11. He made no mention of the Island Amboyna, famous for its Cloves; nor of that of Bima, which is near it, and considerable; and so of others towards Solor and Timor. The Dutch are strong at Amboyna, which falls on the back of Macasar, and have engross'd to themselves all its Trade of Cloves. Not long before my coming to Macasar, the Sumbane and Prince Carroro had been with 40000 Men to ruin the Dutch at Amboyna. The Secretary Francis Mendez Knight of the Order of Christ, a good Christian, and akin to the Sumbane, assur'd me, he had made so great a progress, that the Dutch had abandon'd their Works, and betaken themselves to their Vessels to go off. At the last Attack, however, the Mahometans fell to drinking and to holding

Debates and Confabulations[1] (as they call it) at which the Dutch took heart, return'd to their Works, and being encourag'd by the Enemies Folly and Weakness got the better of them, they returning with shame to Macasar when they had been at an incredible Expense. The Secretary much lamented the Defeat of that Expedition, which had been very heroick and advantageous to the Mahometan, and perhaps had prevented his falling a vassal in the hands of the Dutch, as happen'd in the Year 1670.[2]

12. Frier Letona, n. 5, writes, that within the Archbishoprick of Manila, there were certain Heathen Blacks, Natives of the Island, unconquer'd, call'd Zambales, and very barbarous. I said something of them before, they are most expert Archers; but they deceiv'd him who said they were the same as the Zambales, for these Zambales are mortal Enemies to the Blacks, and much dreaded of them. There are very good Christians among them; their Towns are on the Skirts of the Mountains, to hinder the Blacks from coming at the Towns of the Indians. For these and other Reasons, the Zambales are exempt from Contributions and personal Duty; they pay their Taxes in Silver, not in *specie*. The Blacks have friz'd hair like the Cafres, the Zambales have not, nor is it possible to subdue them, tho 100000 Men were gather'd to that purpose. 1. Because the Mountains are inaccessible, and so thick wooded, that unless the Shelter be destroy'd, neither Spaniards nor Indians can advance a step, and the Blacks run in and out at every hole like Hares. 2. Because they standing behind the Trees with their Arrows, shoot as many as they please without being seen, by reason their Colour cannot be distinguish'd from that of the Tree. If the Indians and Zambales go into the Mountains, they have generally the worst of it, and therefore they endeavour to catch the Blacks in open Fields, but it is no easie matter. I knew them sometimes at Peace, and sometimes at War with the Indians; when they were at Peace, whole Troops of them

[1] *Bichara* (see p. xc above), from Sanscrit *vichāra*, is wrongly defined by Alonso as *albricias*; in fact is means a parley, discussion, or debate: cf. Portuguese *bichara* and Dutch *bitjara*.

[2] The Dutch were in control of Macassar by 1668. For a brief survey of the struggle for the Spice Islands, see W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923), 21–6.

would come down to the Towns, we gave them Tobacco, Rags and Wine, which pleas'd them very much, and some of them help'd the principal Indians in their Tillage. We admir'd to see them so fat, tall and strong, whereas they eat nothing but wild Mountain Roots, some Fruit and raw Flesh, without any Cloathing but their Skin, or any other Bed but the Ground.

13. Every one of them has certainly his Bow and Arrows, the Bow is as long as he that uses it, they make them of a Palm-tree as hard as Iron; the String is made of the Barks of Trees, so strong that nothing can out-do them. Besides the Bow they use another little Iron Weapon, broader than ones hand, and Pitcher-shap'd, it is a quarter of a Yard long; the handle is very fine and they said they made it of burnt Oysters and Snails; it look'd like delicate Marble. This Weapon serves them near at hand, with it they cut off a Man's Head at the mouth very cleverly. All the People along those Mountains, as far as New Segovia, value a Scull mightily to drink out of, so that he who has most Sculls is the bravest and noblest among them; and they go out to cut off Heads only for this honour, without any other prospect. In some places they make use of the Teeth of those Heads they cut off, stringing and making Garlands of them to wear on their Heads; he that has most is best look'd upon. There are a great many People on the Mountains of Orion, upon the Bay of Manila, but they are peaceable; all the time I was there, they never did the least hurt. I saw some Companies of them and I remember particularly one Old Man, of whom I made much, rather out of fear than love; I laid my Hand on his Back, and it felt like an Ass, it was so rough and hairy.

14. N.12. Frier Letona makes the Mouth of the Bay at the Island call'd Marivelez, four Leagues wide; it has two Mouths, but neither of them a League over. The little Mouth is widest, because the Land lying low the Water spreads, but it has not much depth. The great one is very deep, but not above half a League over. All Men complain that a Fort has not been built on that Island, to secure the two Channels against the attempts of Enemies; if Cannon were planted there, no Ship could escape through without being hit. Those Channels lie open to any Invader to possess

himself of Pampanga, and other Provinces, without the least let from Cabite, or Manila; and thence they may cross the Lake, ravage the whole Island, and seize all Provisions. I ask'd a Major, why a thing of that consequence was not minded? He made me the usual answer, that it was 'because they took no care of the Publick Good'.

15. Among some reflections made upon a Memorial presented at Madrid some years since, I saw a Note made by some one who had been in the Islands; and having nothing to answer or object to one point, he says, 'Religious think they are doing nothing, unless they intrude and act themselves up to govern all.' This is an excellent method to discredit in advance all they may write or propose; and yet who could be more free, plain and unbiass'd than the Religious in proposing to his Majesty what is for the good of his Subjects? A great Plague has fallen upon the Indians, which is, that no notice is taken of what their Spiritual Fathers advise for their good. The best of it is that no sooner is any thing writ against a Religious but it is believed on the spot or at least care is taken to enquire whether it be true or not. It hapned in my time at Manila, that a Governour was accus'd, and heinous things laid to his charge; yet for all that, it was resolv'd he should continue and govern out his time, and the accusation be dealt with later when he gave an account of his Office. On the other hand, complaint was made, I know not for what, of a grave Religious of a certain Order, and immediately they sent and seiz'd all he had, took him out of the Monastery, and carry'd him fifty Leagues off. Now I do not argue whether the Crime objected was great or not; but supposing it to be such, had that Frier no Superiors? Must the Secular Power immediately take action, without granting him a hearing, or finding any Politick excuse to delay the matter, as they did about the Governour? Yes, Sir, and because they look upon this as Zeal and Diligence in the King's Service! Likewise they put a good Clergyman (for whom Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara had a great respect) into Irons in a trice and banish'd him the Islands, in the sight of many Infidels. What Opinions can those Heathens have of a Priest so banish'd by the Laity? I will say no more of it here, because *I* will not 'set myself up to govern';

but I could justly complain of one, who writ scandalously against Frier Victorio Riccio, to whom those Islands are more beholden than to all that are or have been there.

16. Frier Letona, N.14., makes a distinction betwixt the going out to Sea at Marivelez for New Spain, and that for Terranate, N.17., but I can see no reason for it; the season is different, but nothing else. For that reason the Ships that go to New Spain, stand out to Sea towards the Island Luban, in order to sail away thence with the Trade-wind to the Anchoring-place. This could not be done in going to Terranate, because the Winds at that time come off the Land, and therefore they coasted hard upon a Bowling along the shore of Balagan, that they might not fall away to Leeward. Nor is Luban seventeen Leagues from Marivelez, as he says; in my opinion it is not above twelve, for I sail'd it in December between Sun-rising and Three in the Afternoon.

17. He mentions other things which happen'd some time after the said Father was gone from Manila. He is much in the right as to what he says concerning Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, and more might have been added. I am of opinion that Noble Gentleman's great respect to the Church and its Ministers was the cause why God bless'd him there, and sent him home safe to his Country. He gave an excellent example in these and many other Particulars.

18. It is to be observ'd, as I have been inform'd from credible Persons, that ever since Don Sabiniano's ship landed at Cavite, no other Ship from New Spain up to this time has managed to come to Anchor in that place, which causes great hardship for the Indians. Who can assign a reason for it? yet certain it is that with regard to God nothing happens by chance, but he permits second Causes to work his designs without interrupting their Order. When Don John de Leon went Governour, his Ship was left much batter'd near Palapa, because one undertook to Pilot it, who ought not to have done it, and perhaps out of covetousness. So the whole Cargo had to be carry'd thence to Manila upon the Backs of Indians. I am assur'd by those who were aboard, that above 1000 Indians dy'd through the hard labour; and had his Majesty's Remittance, which was but 40,000 Pieces of Eight that year, been

as bountiful as upon other years, then yet more Indians would have died in carrying it. (Incidentally, let those observe this, who believe the Remittances to Manila are very considerable.) Before him Don John de Salcedo arriv'd at New Segovia, and the same Person told me that above 2000 Indians dy'd loading and carrying the cargo. Can any thing be more deplorable and Heart-rending? Formerly Ships regularly arriv'd safe at Cavite, so that all was managed without oppressing the Natives, unless the fear of meeting Enemies hapn'd to cause some alteration. (Don James Fajardo also landed at New Segovia.)

19. God may remedy this if we use our proper endeavours. All Men agree that if the Ships sail from Acapulco any time in February or even beginning of March, they will arrive in good time to put into Cavite, with safety. The reason is plain, because the South-west Winds, which are contrary, do not fix till after Midsummer; and tho they should start up sooner, they are not lasting, and may be endur'd at Sea either lying by, or tacking as many do, and I saw it practis'd at the Cape of Good Hope, where are the greatest Storms in the World. There we were 28 days struggling against the Wind and Waves, sometimes lying up our Head to the Wind, and sometimes traversing from North to South and then South to North. But in order that they may set out of Acapulco at that time on their return, the Ships must sail from Manila at Midsummer, or sooner; so they sail with fair Weather to S. Bernardine, where they take in Wood, Water and Refreshment; and as soon as the South-west starts up, they set out upon their Voyage.[1] Pilots vary in their Opinions as to the Latitude they are to keep to; doubtless every Man follows his own, for they are men that will not submit to another, as in time of Peace they may safely do. I've sailed with Pilots of several Peoples of Europe, and, in Truth, they all outdo us Spaniards.[2] No Man will deny

[1] Confirmation of this at Schurz, 279–80.

[2] On the other hand, standard manuals of navigation in Europe were usually Spanish until the 1630's and Spanish sailors had a high reputation, even among Englishmen, till Jacobean times (D. W. Waters, *Art of Navigation in England*, (London, 1958), 328). Pilots of the Manila Galleon were hardly as free to experiment as Navarrete suggests; innovators were liable to rebuke and punishment (Schurz, 249).

that a good Course of Life is very conducing to a fair and happy Voyage. In a Ship there are many motives for being circumspect, and even the fiercest Animals in the Ark, they say, became tame. For even in a milk-calm sea there's but a board betwixt Life and Death; motive enough for trembling and living with Care.

20. Concerning the Supplies sent to Manila, I have receiv'd information from well-meaning and conscientious Persons who have found in me some freedom of speech and independence to make it known: their shyness, or Prudence, has concealed it! The Supply goes from Mexico to the Philippine Islands, is usually considerable, but is much clipt before it comes thither.[1] The King's Officers belonging to Manila, not those of Mexico, must give the true estimate of those Supplies. Now what follows seems incredible. At Acapulco they make a sort of Hut or Arbour of Boughs between the Sea and the Governour's door as a Shelter for the People and Commodities that are to be ship'd. I saw it when there; it consists of a dozen Poles stuck in the Ground, others across them at top, and over all Boughs, Hay, and Leaves of Palm-tree for a covering. And for a piece of work like this they have some years charg'd his Majesty's account 8000 pieces of eight for expence; and this is defray'd out of the Supply sent to the Philippine Islands. Can this be parallel'd in the World?[2] There is a Boat they call Chata, which serves to carry Goods and People aboard.[3] Now when this is mended, for a couple of Nails, a bit of Tar, Hemp, and such things they charge 800 or 1000 Pieces of Eight and so in other things, as any honest Minister of State, that fears God and is zealous for his King's good, may easily compute. Besides this they send there many Ducats worth of Commodities, some of which are superfluous at Manila and others of no Value whatever.

[1] The colonial government of the Philippines had an annual deficit which was made up by Mexican silver (Phelan, 13–14). See W. L. Schurz, 'The Philippine Situado', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1 (1918), 461–4.

[2] There were also minor abuses: formerly wax-drippings from ships' candles were the perquisite of the Chief Pilot, but this led to the custom of leaving lamp-windows open to make the candles burn more and melt the wax more quickly. To prevent this abuse, melted wax was made a Royal perquisite (Maggs Brothers Catalogue No. 515 (1929), 62, quoting a document of 1680).

[3] A *chata* was a small boat in the Philippines.

21. An accident very remarkable hapned at Manila some Years since, which I have not seen in writing, and think convenient to insert in this place. There was such abundance of Pilchards in the Bay, and so many taken, that it was wonderful; all the Poor and common sort liv'd upon them, and sometimes the great ones did eat them as a Dainty; being extraordinary cheap, they were a great relief to many People. The time came when they banish'd the Bishop, and from that moment the fish went off and totally vanish'd. This was much taken notice of, and is so to this Day. Another strange passage fell out, which is still fresh in the memory of all Men, which was, that when the good Archbishop was without the Gate of the store Houses where they ship'd him, he shook the dust off his Shoes, and cast some stones at the City, one of which reach'd Don Peter de Corcuera the Governour's Nephew, and hit him on the Shin; and tho the stroke and hurt was most inconsiderable, it fester'd and he dy'd of it. The Judg Zapata dy'd suddenly. Tenorio was beheaded. The Archdeacon of the Cathedral dy'd in a small time; these were all Enemies to the Archbishop. But the strangest of all, in my poor opinion was that a Souldier being commanded to lay hold of the Archbishop, who then had the Ciborium with the blessed Sacrament in his Hands, or at least lean'd upon the Altar where it was, that Souldier thinking it an execrable action, excus'd himself and said, I will rather die than do it, and laying his Hand to his Sword, drew it out and fell upon it. God was pleas'd to save his Life, as a reward of the Holy Zeal he express'd.

22. Much has been said, and disputed about the Royal Chappel Don Sebastian de Corcuera built at Manila [at Fort Santiago]. I would willingly dilate upon it, and write the Opinion of the People of those Islands, but will confine my self for some reasons I have. In the 1st Place we must not always condemn the demolishing, nor commend the erecting of Churches; for, as we see in the time of Don James Faxardo, some noted Churches were demolish'd that the Dutch might not fortify themselves in them, and annoy the Islands. Under Don Sabiniano de Lara others were thrown down, to prevent the Chineses making Forts of them and that the Cannon might play freely. This demolishing cannot be con-

demn'd, no more than the same done in other Places by order of pious Princes. So in case of erecting of Churches, something may occur or intervene that may make it an ill action either in a Moral or Civil sense; because a thing is good when so in all respects, and bad through any one defect. King Philip and his Council were not offended at building the House of the poor Clares at Macao, because it was a Nunnery or a Church, for both those things are good; but because the place was not convenient for it, being in a Country of Infidels. Similarly any Man is much to be blam'd who would raise such Structures out of what belongs to others, and is illgotten; nor would it please God if one should erect Churches out of that which ought to be apply'd to the maintenance of the Poor. St Chrysostom says, 'Those that adorn Churches do a good work, if the Poor enjoy a part of their Goods, for then they build for the Glory of God. Would you build the House of God? Then give a living to the faithful Poor, and you will be building the House of God'. There are two types of Churches: one made of living Stones, that is the Poor; and another which is dead and made of hewn Stones; now it is neither proper nor lawful to forsake the former for the latter.

23. In the 2d place that Chappel is no way necessary at Manila, 1 Because it would imply a neglect in essentials in so many good Governours as preceded him. 2. Because they have a Cathedral just by, and other Churches where they may hear a few Sermons in Lent.

24. Besides, that Gentleman spent not a Half-penny of his own in building that Chappel, but did it all out of the Souldiers pay, and that is what maintains it to this day. Now no Man is generous who spends out of another's Purse. Moreover there are above 8000 pieces of eight yearly spent in that Chappel on 12 Chaplains, Musicians, Sacristans, Festivals and Wax and Wine for the Masses; and there are Frauds enough practis'd even over the Wax. And all this although at present there are Souldiers at Manila, who go barefoot, and without Swords, and several reform'd Captains and Ensigns are dying of hunger. Where then is the need or the good of that Chappel?[1]

[1] For confirmation of these remarks about the poor conditions of the soldiery, see the *Memorial* (1652) of Father Magino Sola (Blair, XXXVI, 49–50).

25. But supposing there must be a Chappel, why must there be 12 Chaplains, and the Dean have 1000 pieces of eight and more annually allow'd him while Souldiers go naked and starving? Let there be four Chaplains; let their Stipends be lessened; and let those 8000 pieces of eight be divided among them and the Souldiers, or poor Officers. In such a matter as this there can be no room for respect of Persons, or self-interest, but only for the Publick Good.[1]

26. But allowing the erecting of that chappel be good in all respects (for so we must judg of the intention) yet the condition of those Islands at present is nothing like what it was then; now it differs from its former state as much as does the painted Portrait from the Sitter; then they were very rich, but now are miserably poor; then there were rich Men who reliev'd many; at present no Man has enough for himself; the Trade was great, and has ever since decay'd; no wonder then if there be reason to alter old things, tho in their day they were convenient.

27. The case is fairly stated, if they please there should still be a Chappel and Chappels, be it so in the Name of God; yet the erecting of that cannot be justify'd upon the opinion of one Man, against the general consent of all the Islands. Another thing very prejudicial to the Kings Revenue is practis'd in those Islands, which is that the Governours who receive the Taxes, sink a great part for their own use. Thus it is that a Governour, for example, receives some thousands in Tributes, he makes up his Accounts to his own mind, and says, 'So much for my Salary due from his Majesty, so much expended, so much for Fees, so much is due to me.' He deducts according to his own reckoning, and if he receiv'd a thousand, only sets down 600 which he delivers to the Exchequer after paying himself. The ill consequences of this Practice are visible. A considerable Man us'd to say it were better

[1] Costa (403) maintains that it was precisely the public good that was involved here and his version of the business differs radically from Navarrete's: the twelve chaplaincies complained of were, apparently, twelve scholarships to provide a single chaplain as and when required and the funds came from a fief in Calamianes. The arrangement appears to have lapsed early on. Navarrete's indignation was probably not entirely disinterested for the scholarships were in the Jesuit College of San José, yet the social concern he reveals in the matter is characteristic of him.

the King should pay these Men their whole allowance, because they being judges of their own services and Merits, award themselves much more than deserved, each paying himself as tho' he had done no less than the Epick hero, My Cid Campeador.

28. A particular thing hapned not long since near the Town call'd Lilio, which is upon the Lake of Bai; they sow much Corn in those Parts at present (many thousands of Ducats had been sav'd if it had been sow'd years earlier). An Indian had sow'd a considerable spot of Corn and the Government sent to view what every Man hath sow'd, and accordingly to assess what he was to pay Contribution. They judg'd by eye there might be 50 Bushels upon that spot, and so they enter'd it down, directing the Indian to carry the said quantity to Manila. The Indian urg'd there could not be so much Corn upon the Ground, and demanded an abatement, but was not allow'd it. He reap'd, and the Corn falling short, he had to buy some Bushels at over 6 Pieces of Eight the Bushel, in order to make up the 50 which he deliver'd to the Government and had not a grain left for himself but only his Labour and Sweat for his Pains. This is truth, and I see nothing unlikely in it, no more than in believing that 1000 Indians thereabouts ran away to the Mountains, perhaps because they saw such practices. May God grant no worse follows. Some Indians fly unto the Mountains, others die under their Burdens, others depart Manila, as I observ'd before; and I am inform'd of late, there are about 400 at Jacatra. The wonder is that there be any Indians left. And it were no small comfort if they had any hopes of relief even now.

29. I have heard notable Circumstances from creditable Persons concerning the Imprisonment of Don John de Salcedo; I will not argue its Legality, for it does not belong to me, but it is reported that a Governour of those Islands us'd to say, 'In Spain, a Man does not know what he is going about, but as soon as he comes to the Islands, he finds he is both King and Pope.' To speak as it really is, he should have said, 'He is much greater than King or Pope.'[1] This is really so, and the ill consequence among many

[1] This was a commonplace: 'The Spanish, as soon as they reach Manila, all become Gentlemen' (Delgado, 301). The Jesuit moralist Gracián, in his *Criticón*,

others is, that unless the fear of God checks them from giving way to all their Passions, Whims, Greed, Sensuality and Vengeance, there is no curbing them, nor do the Laity or Clergy nor Princes of the Church dare open their Mouths, or if they do it costs them dear; and what some Men act in the Devils name, they alledge as Service done the King, and under that Cloke execute all their wicked designs and if any Man becomes their Critick they cry up that he opposes the King his Service. We have more than enough examples of this in those Philippine Islands, in Peru, in New Spain and in other parts. A Loyal Subject of the King's was wont to say, 'Father, a Man's Wickedness may be of such a Nature, so evident and so prejudicial to the Publick, that it may be a good Service done to God and the King, to put a stop to it the best that may be, without waiting for Orders from above, for that may require four Years, where even three is too long, for the Islands may be ruin'd in less time. It is only requisite in such cases that the Fact be well examin'd, and then many would be rewarded, not punish'd, for having had a hand in it.' Now in India, for example, a few Years since they carry'd a Viceroy in custody to Portugal, whose Crimes were not so great as those committed any Year at Manila. The Business was examin'd, the People accounted good Subjects, and the Viceroy condemn'd. I shrug'd my Shoulders because I had not seen what was done, and all Men ought to be heard before we pass Judgment upon them.[1] All this may serve to give the Reader some Light into the Affairs of those Parts, which are nothing like to what we see among us.

criticizes those who say 'Don't tire yourself finding me a Palace job, for at best 'tis but to play the lackey. A post in the Indies for me—and the farther away the better'. Certainly, many of the Governors returned home rich men (Schurz, 173). The case of Governor Salcedo is summarized in Costa, 485–6.

[1] This almost certainly refers to Viceroy António Melo de Castro (1662–6); Navarrete's sympathy is understandable, for he and Castro shared the same view of the Jesuits in Asia (Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 170–1).

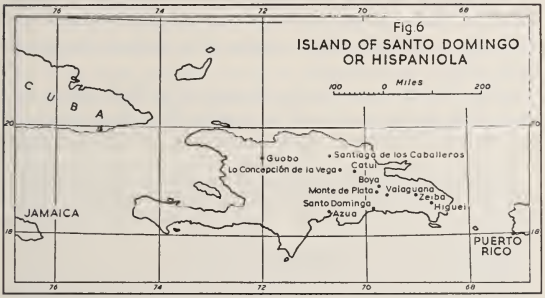
RELATION OF SANTO DOMINGO

PLATE XVIII. Santo Domingo in the seventeenth century

RELATION OF THE CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES OF THE ISLAND OF SANCTO DOMINGO, HISPANIOLA, IN OBEDIENCE TO THE ORDER GIVEN IN THE BUEN RETIRO UPON 21ST APRIL, IN THE YEAR 1679, BY HIS MAJESTY, WHOM GOD PRESERVE. WRITTEN BY FRIAR DOMINGO FERNANDEZ NAVARRETE, ARCHBISHOP-ELECT OF THE SAID ISLAND.[1]

* * *

As one who has seen with his own eyes all there is in that Part of this Island which is subject to your Majesty, I shall here write distinctly and clearly what is commanded of me by the Royal Order above mentioned.



The City of Sancto Domingo, is the Metropolis and Capital of the Island, consisting of two thousand, nine hundred and seventy seven (2977) Souls, including the Military and those, both freedmen and slaves, who usually work upon the plantations and farms within an area of more than fourteen leagues. Of the men, seven hundred are Spanish; nine hundred and seventy seven are Spanish women and of these latter, one third will not attend Mass

[1] An almost contemporary account of the island (in 1650) by Canon L. J. Alcocer is published in *BAGN*, v (1942), 28–101 with extensive notes and bibliography. This is more detailed than Navarrete's.

because they have no suitable clothes. Of slaves, male and female, there are one thousand three hundred. The remainder are coloured and mulattos, male and female, and are free. Since October 1677 up to this April, 1681, two hundred and eighty eight have married, nearly all being of the meaner sort and slaves. Seven hundred and eighty have died. Six hundred and thirty eight have been baptised. Of the Spaniards, men and women, mentioned herein, more than half are children and mere striplings; of the remainder, a great part are very aged.

This City has a notable Cathedral and a Parish Church of Saint Barbara;[1] the monasteries are: Saint Dominic's[2] with the School of Higher Studies;[3] Saint Francis's and that of our Lady of Ransom;[4] there are two convents of Dominican and Franciscan nuns and three hospitals: St Nicholas's, St Andrew's, and St Lazarus's.[5] There's one college but it is completely empty. There are two very fine hermitages: our Lady of Carmel's and St Anthony Abbot's; there's another of St Michael, but its only made of Straw [palm canes].

In the Western part there's a Curtain of a Wall with a Fort facing both the Sea and Land; it is called 'Fort Slaughterhouse', but towards the north it has a diamond point,[6] besides another

[1] When he arrived he found the Cathedral in a neglected state: almost a shell, with broken windows letting in the rain, without furniture or vestments; the sight of it, he wrote, 'wounds my very heart' (Letters to Charles II, AGI, S.Dgo 3, 93, 94).

[2] It was here that Las Casas took the Dominican habit.

[3] The 'Athens of the New World' was a flourishing University in its heyday. Its claims to have been founded by virtue of the Bull *In Apostolatus Culmine* were hotly contested until its authenticity was recently proved (*BAGN*, v, 15; Vallellano, 143 ff.; Beltrán de Heredia, OP, *La autenticidad de la Bula 'In apostolatus culmine'* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1955)).

[4] The Ransomers, more usually known in English as Mercedarians, belonged to the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, founded by St Peter Nolasco (A.D. 1218) for the redemption of Christian captives from the Moors.

[5] St Andrew's was founded in 1512 and had a long history of maladministration; Navarrete turned his attention to it in 1680 and within a few months had it taking in eight patients (AGI, S.Dgo 93; A. Lugo, *Historia de Santo Domingo* (Ciudad Trujillo, 1952), I, 296). St Nicholas's was in a worse case, and investigation was hampered because those who held the records were refusing to show them (AGI, S.Dgo 94).

[6] Fort Matadero or San Gil (Utrera, I, 118–23).

little fort that also guards the land: half a league out upon the shore is Fort St Jerome and it was this that inflicted great damage upon the English invader in the year 1655.[1] It is small and in need of some repairs for people's security. Along the northern zone all the City lies open; your Majesty has ordered that it be walled in, and sent funds towards that End, but no attempt at a beginning has as yet been made. Along the southern side is the Sea, full of rocks and reefs which themselves provide an impregnable wall. Near the College is what they call 'Fort School', a place aptly fitted to prevent entrance by the River [Ozama].

To the East, on the same bank of the River, is the Fort that guards the entrance and prevents Ships from approaching too closely; it has a very good shape and contrivance, but since it is buffeted below by the waters the stonework is gradually mouldering away and has become unjointed from its base so that it is in need of repair; and what can be done today at a little Cost will, if it be not done now, cost thousands of Ducats later on. At water level it has some artillery pieces, in the manner of a battery platform, excellently fitted to oppose greatly any Ship attempting to come up to anchor. The parapets of the Fort run as far as the *Corps de gard* that is in the little square of the Palace and near here they have, in recent times, built a small Fort, which, in the opinion of the majority, is useless; in the opinion of all, is unnecessary; and, in the opinion of myself, is a positive danger to ourselves. (And I have seen many a Fort in this Life of mine, and noted them all attentively, so that I have the right to my say among those who've seen very few.) From the front of the Palace, the wall, which is continued by the aforementioned parapets, runs down to the river. Fort St James crowns the end of it. Its position is admirable: on the one side it looks out to the South, which is the way by which the enemy come; in the front it looks towards the East and also to the North where the anchoring place is, and the beach where people may come ashore. Everything works towards its defence and it alone is sufficient provided it be well furnished with men and arms, to withstand all the enemy that attempt an

[1] Cromwell's attempted 'Western Design' upon Santo Domingo failed, but Jamaica was taken instead.

attack. It is in a bad state though Your Majesty has already sent money for its repair and strengthening; but to no purpose whatsoever.

On the other side is the little chapel of our Lady of the Rosary, Mediatrix of the sea-folk: this is the first church of the island. Along the river, Sir, the island can never come to harm provided ordinary care is taken, for it is impossible for any to enter by that way, tho they may cannonade the City from the Sea and create a diversion; but enter they cannot; and the more because of the sand-bank that is in front of the Fort: what needs looking to is, that the circumvallation of the City is very great, for the Western wall is no little distance from it, the Forts are many and people to man all the positions and take the field are very few and it would be difficult for them to link up.

Another observation, and a considerable one moreover, is that this City has never undertaken to prepare a Retrenchment in order to secure the monies, silver and vestments of the church, the nuns, the old folk, the children, although there's a place towards the North which is high above the City and very good to the purpose; it could also serve as a Wall and Bulwark thus preventing an enemy's seizing hold of the City. This lack explains why when Drake entered here in 1585 [*rectè* 1586] he robbed the Churches and whatever else there was to hand, and if only there'd been a brace of cannon in the Retrenchment—that is, if there had been a Retrenchment—he would not have entered the City nor have made himself secure there. And in the year 1655 when all this almost fell into the hands of the English, the Religious of both sexes and the women and children betook themselves to the fields. And many men, too, did likewise, flying from the fight; and much illness and many deaths followed upon this from the many woes they suffered. This City was once beautiful and had the fairest houses; but the earthquake a few years back [1672; 1673] left it in a great state of ruin.

The City of Santiago de los Caballeros, upon the frontier of the French enemy territory, is towards the North in a high, healthy and very agreeable situation, some 36 leagues from this City and four from the Sea, but open and dismantled on all sides,

Upon the 30th [*rectè* 28] March 1660 the enemy entered it and laid it waste. There are there one thousand three hundred and thirteen souls of whom one hundred and sixty one are Spanish males, one hundred and fifty five are white women, one hundred and fifty eight are male slaves; one hundred and fifty four are female slaves. The remainder are coloured and mulatto freedmen. There is one parish which gets 6,555 *maravedís* in tythes; it has a priest, a beneficed curate and a sacristan with 10975 *maravedís* in tythes. There is a Ransomers' monastery with one, sometimes two, Religious, with barely enough to live on; St Sebastian's Hospital has been somewhat renovated since last year and can care for two patients. There is a good priest now in charge of it. There is the Hermitage of St Anne, which is in the care of a Priest since last year; the poor, who are numerous, go there to mass at dawn.[1] In the City there are twenty two mean houses roof'd with Tiles, and one hundred and twenty *boxios*.[2]

Though they have been miserably poor there these last few years, much has been done for the church, much that was not done in the past in flourishing times. The land is among the best in the world for every purpose, but the great farmlands that once supported cattle are now in the hands of the French.[3] The river Yaque waters the City and it is celebrated for its water and for the gold that's got from its sands; though there's little enough these days because of the shortage of people.

During the time I've been governing here [as archbishop-elect] one hundred and twenty one persons have died; and there have

[1] Spanish pride made people ashamed to be seen in poor clothes, thus Mass had to be said for them at night; an earlier Archbishop had complained that in the island every holy day had its midnight Mass, as though they were living in a perpetual Christmastide (Vallellano, 83); Navarrete, unable to eradicate this habit, shrewdly co-operated with it by putting on twice-weekly night sermons which became very popular (AGI, S.Dgo 93).

[2] *Boxio:* a rough building made of palm-wood, reeds and straw, without windows or any other ventilation than the door.

[3] In earlier times cattle had multiplied so rapidly that great herds roved wild over the island (Diffie, 93–4; Lugo, I, 168), and the inhabitants had been so well provided with horses that they could afford to amuse themselves in their evenings by driving them into the sea in order to watch them be devoured by the sharks (Gaspar Affonso, 'Relação da Viagem' in B. Gomes de Brito, *Historia Tragico-Maritima*, II (Lisboa, 1736), 379).

been fifty one marriages, of which twenty were performed during my [pastoral] visit, and no one was charged a farthing in the way of fees.

The City of *La Concepción de la Vega* is 30 Leagues from here; and according to what young and old told me there, it had seventeen thousand inhabitants in former times, and now, counting good and bad, big and small, it has thirty-five *boxios*. There are 434 souls; forty-eight of these are Spanish males, thirty-five females, fifty-eight are male slaves; and the rest are coloured and mulatto freedmen. Between October 1677 and March 1681 there were twenty marriages and forty deaths. The hospital building is levelled to the ground, and the church is but half finished, is without doors and is roof'd with palm-leaves. But in recent times something has been allocated it towards vestments. There's only one priest there and he receives 18256 *maravedís* in tythes and the church itself gets 6846 *maravedís*. A league away is the Ransomers' monastery of the Holy Mount and it maintains one Religious.[1]

The town of Cotui is 18 Leagues from here; it has one hundred souls, thirty-one male Spaniards and twenty-six women; the rest are slaves and coloured freedmen. This year there passed away the one person there of any importance. It has twenty-two *boxios*, most of them are like huts. The church there is very badly kept but many of the things necessary for divine worship have just been provided for it. It was robbed by the French in 1672; of the tythes the priest receives 2888 *maravedís*; the church itself 1083.

The City of Monte de Plata lies to the north-east of this City, some 12 leagues distant. It has ninety-seven souls, of whom twenty-two are male, and fourteen are female Spaniards. There are there twenty *boxios* and the church is made of *boxio*. In the last apportionment of tythes it got 642 *maravedís* and the priest 1712. There's a Dominican priory, both it and the church are

[1] The Holy Mount (*Santa Cerro*) where, according to legend, Columbus planted a miraculous cross which resisted the Indians' efforts to destroy it. See E. W. Palm, *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española* (Santa Domingo, 1955), I, 34–5; A. Tejera, 'La Cruz del Santo Cerro', *BAGN*, VIII (1945), 101–19; E. R. D., 'El Santo Cerro', *BAGN*, VIII (1945), 120–44.

entirely built of *boxio*; it maintains one Religious and that but poorly.[1]

The town of Boyá, annex'd this Parish, has fourteen *boxios* and forty-three souls, Indians, both male and female, and some mestizos. There is a Hermitage, our Lady of the Holy Waters, which is at present being repaired.

The town of [*San Juan Bautista de*] *Vaiaguana*, over towards the East, has nine *boxios* which, apart from one, are all mere shacks. There are serving in that place, great and small, ten wretched coloured folk. The faithful number one hundred and forty; thirty of them Spanish men; twenty-one Spanish women, eleven slaves, and the rest coloured freedmen. The church, *boxio*. This last year it has been adorned with a picture of St John the Baptist, who is the patron saint, with a canopy, an altar-frontal, altar-cloth, corporals,[2] a chasuble, mundatories,[3] small cloths, covers for the chalice and the missal. In the last apportionment of tythes, the Priest received 4124 *maravedís* and the church 1546. They are now making doors for the church. On the feast of Corpus Christi last, there was not a single person to carry the canopy over the Sacrament [in the procession]. Here, as in the other places mentioned, there are people living out in the country round about for some seven or eight leagues from the town, with the result that not a few die without the Sacraments, tho I have sometimes spoken about this matter and commented on it.[4] If your Majesty were pleased to consent, this church could easily be united with that of Monte Plata from which it's only three leagues distant: then the parish would have something in the way of an income to offer and there would not be lacking someone to apply for it.

In the town of Zeibo, some twenty leagues to the east of here, there are three hundred souls; twenty-seven Spanish males, fourteen females; seventy slaves, and the remainder coloured and

[1] Navarrete, characteristically, does not mention that the priory had a miraculous statue of our Lady (Alcocer, 75).

[2] A linen cloth upon which the Blessed Sacrament is laid during Mass.

[3] A linen cloth used for cleansing the chalice.

[4] The island's gentry had taken to living in the country to avoid being seen in their poverty: this custom was reported to the King by the Audiencia in 1678 (AGI, S.Dgo 65).

mulatto freedmen; it has 18 *boxios* ranging from bad to fair. The church is of *boxio*. In the last apportionment of tythes the priest got 6740 *maravedís* and the church 2527. It has been assisted with the gift of a silver cross of fifteen ounces, a large crucifix for the high altar, corporals, mundatories, and other little trifles. From 1678 to April, 1681 there have been thirty-two deaths.

The town of Higuei, 10 leagues further on, is at the head of the island. This has the Sanctuary of our Lady of Grace and has one hundred and forty four souls, of whom twenty-two are Spaniards, eighteen are white women, twenty-one are slaves, and the rest are coloured folk and mulattos. There are twenty-three *boxios*, the church is a strong brick building, and is very adequately adorned with all that's needed. The past year it was improved by a legacy of Don Ygnatius de Sayas, namely, two tall silver candlesticks worth 50 Pieces of Eight, which now serve to discover the Holy Image. This town is at the East of the Island, two leagues or so from the Sea.

The town of Azua. This is the only town situated towards the Western zone some twenty-four leagues from this City. It has five hundred and eighty-two souls, fifty Spanish men, and twenty-four women; and one hundred and ninety-six slaves; the rest are coloured and mulatto freedmen. There are in this town 80 *boxios* not counting some other little shanties. In 1641 the French pillaged and burnt the place. The church has just been newly built this last year with stone and mud walls. The priest gets 17436 *maravedís* in tythes and the church 6538. There is a monastery of Ransomers, made of *boxio*, which maintains one Religious and is convenient for the parish priest. Marriages since October 1677 to April of this year of 1681 number 19; deaths, 56.

The town of Guaba, which is modern, is some 80 leagues to the West of this City. With the soldiers serving there for its defence it has one hundred and eighty two souls; thirty-five of these are Spanish males, and twenty-four females; and there are three slaves. The rest are negro refugees who have fled thither from the French zone, both coloured and mulattos.[1] In 1656 the French

[1] Large numbers of negroes fled from French severity in the hope of better treatment in the Spanish zone of the island (Lugo, I, 256–7). Navarrete had already

destroyed the place; it was rebuilt and the year 1674 they burnt it again, killed the priest and carried out acts of effrontery. Nearly all the people assist in their own quarters, they go to Church in Holy Week, the devout go [also] at Christmas, and only an odd one or two go during the rest of the year, and this is the universal custom here in all the afore-mentioned places, with but little variation. The church is a poor *boxio* and lacks everything. Your Majesty's President educated a Chaplain for the service of the military here and so I left the care of the local church to him, and was able to withdraw a Religious who had gone there at my instance. It is eighty leagues from the City and there's no inhabited place in between, with the exception of the town of Azua; and there are parts where the roads are very bad and the risk from the French is great. I'll give a quick run-over the whole of it and I'll see it all with my own eyes and go back a second time this year, God willing. Everywhere I went I saw and noted that the half of the people hear Mass from outside the church for lack of clothes, a custom that caused me much grief. The deaths and marriages in these parts are not particularized for they do not amount to more than five or six.

Beyond Guaba they tell me there are very rich silver mines. License was granted for the working of these in the past, but it was later revoked for some just reasons. These mines, they say, are in a very hidden part and that in all the Island there is only one mulatto with knowledge of the site and its whereabouts, and he lives in the Azua area and is now old; if anything happens to him there'll be no means of lighting upon them. I lay this plainly before your Majesty so that you may order what shall seem good to yourself. Don Joseph de Peralta, one of the principal persons of this City, knows about this matter, because relatives of his

begged land from the Audiencia for a negro settlement, and thus began what was to be the future town of San Lorenzo (Vallellano, 210); he urged the King to appoint a Royal Protector for the negroes, as had been done for the Indians earlier (AGI, S.Dgo 93; C. de Utrera, *Dilucidaciones históricas* (Santo Domingo, 1927–9), I, 184–7). It was also due to Navarrete that the Canary Islanders (settled there to counter the depopulation of Santo Domingo) did not entirely perish through the indifference of the local authorities (Utrera, I, 316–7; and J. de Viera y Clavijo, *Historia general de las islas de Canaria* (Madrid, 1776), III, 318–19).

obtained that Licence which I said was granted for the working of these mines.

A day's journey from Cotuy are mines of excellent copper and blue [lapis lazuli] whence much of these two materials have been obtained these past years. There has been a lawsuit going on this long time over the inheriting of it and I understand that it is about to go to a mulatto who is very poor. There is also gold nearby and more still in Buena Ventura some eight or ten leagues from this City. The land, Sir, is among the best that your Majesty has in all your Kingdoms and territories; only workers are lacking, for those here will die rather than work ⟨they are sluggards who are ready to suffer hunger, nakedness, and other necessities, rather than exercise themselves in a little labour. [R 11]⟩[1]

Your Majesty charges us much to take steps to avoid public sins; and all possible has been done in this regard and God has been good enough to see that the effort has borne some fruit.

So that this notice may be full and complete I include here information for your Majesty about the clergy of this Archdiocese: there are so few that at the moment there are only thirteen priests in reserve and without some office. There are only three preparing to be ordained in a year's time, there are few being trained, and their progress is slow; it is out of these that all the churches in the island will have to be staffed.

The following passage I trust only in my own hand:[2] out of thirteen priests that are without parishes, three (namely, Diego de Plasencia, Francisco de Medina and Antonio Girón de Castellanos) are capable of holding cures and other offices within the City: they do not wish to work outside it. The rest are completely illiterate and without any hope of its being possible to entrust the administration of the Sacraments to them;[3] and yet if any priests

[1] These complaints are also made by the Jesuits in their annual letters (BM, Add. MS 17, 627, f. 3). Elsewhere (AGI, S.Dgo 93) Navarrete reported that, although the islanders had the sea 'within the house, as it were', they were too lazy even to fish and demanded dispensations to eat meat on abstinence days, and that 'the bull-fights here exceed all bounds, thus encouraging idleness; three or four a year would be enough'. The king, responding to this, reduced the annual fights to four and forbade late-evening theatre performances (AGI, S.Dgo 874).

[2] Up to this point he had been dictating to a clerical secretary.

[3] For instance, 'As I was writing this the Prebendary, Piña, came to ask me to

are needed as replacements I'll be constrained to turn to these as being a case of extreme necessity. The Reverend Father Rector of the Jesuits [Antonio Pérez] is never wanting in this labour, nor do I cease to take care that these priests may improve somewhat.[1] I find the same faults in the Regular clergy with a very few exceptions, certainly not more than four altogether. I put up with these priests because if I were to put pressure on them I'd find myself all alone here. I have written to the Reverend General of my Order about this matter asking that he should try to send four mature Religious, men of learning and virtue. If your Majesty saw fit to do so, and took it upon yourself, you could command that the same be done on this score in respect of the other three Orders [Jesuits, Ransomers, Franciscans] that are here. If there come not this year from Mexico the two priests that have studied in the University there, Your Majesty might nominate individuals from Spain for the vacant Canonries on a competitive basis, for I see no signs here that there will be suitable persons to fill them for years to come.

If your Majesty were good enough to order that vacancies in the Cathedral were only to be granted to those who have served for some years in curacies so that they would then realise they had first to pass along that road, 'tis likely they would then work to become more capable and fit to be priests. And this would bring it about that all the Prebendaries, also, would first become licensed confessors, for since they enjoy the church income it is only right that they be of some use to the church.

This is what occurs to me to lay before your Majesty: in all matters I desire to do the right thing in your royal service.

Santo Domingo, in Hispaniola Island, April 30th 1681.

recommend him to your Majesty; I regretted it much, for I cannot say more than that he is a good priest, but he cannot read and I'm ashamed of him in the Choir when I have to listen to him, and more still when he sings the Gospel in the presence of the Royal Audiencia' (AGI, S.Dgo 93); of another, 'stripped of his presumption he has nothing; some talent, but no application' (ibid.).

[1] And sometimes he was successful: the Antonio Girón referred to earlier, had in the beginning been a cause for complaint, but he improved sufficiently to be the Secretary of the Synod of 1683 and later was Navarrete's chosen companion on his diocesan visits. For a note on the Jesuit Rector, Pérez, see Vallellano, 319.

Last year the Treasurer, Gaspar de Carrizosa and the Prebendary Herrera died.

Your Majesty's least and most devoted Chaplain kisses your feet,

Friar Domingo, Archbishop-elect.[1]

[1] There are no papers relating to Navarrete in the State archives of the Dominican Republic. Documents of ecclesiastical interest (Chapter records, etc) in the Cathedral archive are inaccessible; though, in fact, it is doubtful if much has survived. See L. Gómez Canedo, OFM, *Los archivos de la historia de America* (Mexico City, 1961), I, 338–91. There is no trace of Navarrete's burial-place since the local clergy, irritated by his reforming zeal and his refusal to wink at their laxity, avenged themselves by omitting details of his death and of any subsequent funeral ceremonies from the Cathedral records (C. de Utrera, OFMCap, *Episcopologio dominicopolitano* (Santo Domingo, 1956), 33; *idem*, *Dilucidaciones*, I, 115) Navarrete's reports to the King on the state of the Island were not unique by any means, and throughout the seventeenth century the Viceroys of Mexico were instructed to send aid to Santo Domingo, for it was realized that 'the loss of this Garrison would result in irreparable damage to all the American dominions'; in this connection see AGN, Reales Cédulas II, IV, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, XIX, XXI.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

CANTON: INTERNMENT AND FLIGHT

The missionaries interned in Canton made attempts to profit by their enforced inactivity. In September, a Rule of Life to be followed was sent them by the Jesuit Visitor, Gama, from Macao (ARSI, JapSin 162, ff. 133–4), and they began to compose a refutation of the libels published against them by their accusers, a task for which a team of three (Navarrete, the Franciscan Santa María, and Father Costa) were selected (*C* 256). Navarrete also diligently continued his studies in Chinese, taking care to read a certain amount each day; and for this he was admirably placed, because there were Chinese catechists with them in the house who could be called upon to clarify doubtful points and to give their explanations of the intricacies of Chinese religious thought (*C* 396, 411).

Eventually news came down from Peking that in August 1667 the young K'ang-hsi Emperor had dismissed the Regency Council and taken control into his own hands. This, together with various rumours, led to hopes that before long they might be able to return to their churches. The possibility emphasized the need to settle the differences between the two groups of missionaries. Navarrete, always doubtful if anything could be settled within the mission itself, now wrote to Rome and to Manila asking for permission to return to Europe to try to obtain a settlement of the Controversy (AOPM 28, ff. 100–1); but this project was strenuously opposed by the Dominican Vicar-Provincial, friar Varo, who countered that Navarrete was the most competent Dominican in China and that it would be impossible to do without him.

The point was academic, for no release came. Meantime, however, the internees began a formal conference among themselves in

order to discuss aspects of their work in China. There were nineteen Jesuits against four friars and, since decisions were to be taken by voting, Navarrete had some anxious moments before deciding to join with them (*C* 190).[1] When he did agree, it was because he was confident that only matters of procedure and discipline could be debated, since no theological subjects were likely to be settled simply by a show of hands; secondly, he claimed the right to cast a block vote of six, that is, his own and five votes on behalf of the friars who had escaped arrest and were still working secretly in the mission, for, as Dominican President, he represented them also ('Ends', f. 46);[2] thirdly, he relied upon the Jesuits' usual disunity to split them, thereby throwing some votes on his side; and fourthly, he was keenly aware of the need to come to some *modus vivendi* with the Fathers, and this consideration drove him on.

The Conference opened on 18 December 1667 with a pleasant and popular Italian Jesuit, Ferrari, acting as Secretary. In an early discussion on the correct Chinese version of the Baptism formula, Navarrete justified his decision to take part by winning four Fathers over to the friars' viewpoint. A discussion of the missionaries' practice of allowing the converts to attend Mass with their heads covered led to some heated debate, but again Navarrete counted seventeen Jesuits with him. Nevertheless, a memorial on the matter was submitted to the Jesuit Visitor in Macao. Other questions were disposed of more quietly, and in all some forty propositions had been discussed when on the morning of 26 January the only non-controversial proposal was put: that St Joseph be chosen as the patron of the Mission. That day the Conference was due to close, but at the afternoon session, to the

[1] Father Brucker (*DTC*, article *Chinois—Rites*) states that Navarrete was ordered by his superior, 'Vincent Prot', to reach agreement with the Jesuits and to sign on behalf of the Dominicans whatever the majority should decide. But, in fact, there was no Dominican in the mission called 'Prot'; the 'V. Prl.' (Vicar Provincial) was Varo (Biermann, *Die Anfänge*, 119).

[2] 'Presidente' was a title given to the Superior of a group of friars living in a convent which had not been formally established. For the work done secretly by the Dominicans during this period of persecution, see F. Pallu, *Lettres, 1658–1684*, ed. A. Launay (Angoulême, 1905), II, 37–8.

astonishment of the friars, one of their number, a Sicilian Dominican named Sarpetri, unexpectedly tabled a motion that the decree of 1656 granted to the Jesuits should be accepted by all and followed in the Mission.[1] Such a proposal might well have been looked for from a Jesuit, but not from a friar, so that Navarrete's party were stunned, while the Jesuits, together with their sudden ally, now showed a solid front. Later they were to make much of this defection, presenting Sarpetri as the answer to their own dissenter, Father Longobardi (ARSI, JapSin 109, ff. 126–7), and as their best defence against Navarrete (ibid. 162, ff. 297–8). And he, on his side, explained it away by citing an instance of Sarpetri's highly eccentric theology (*Certificatoria*, 170) and by saying, probably with cause, that Sarpetri had been influenced by his uncle, the Jesuit Brancati, who was also present in the house.

The afternoon was spent in argument, and by the end of the day the friars were still dissatisfied (CASA 1070, f. 5). Exactly what happened next is not easy to make out. According to the Jesuits the friars signed the Minutes and were in agreement with them, but later wavered and changed their minds. The friars' version differs. But if, in fact, the friars did sign, then they did so with considerable reservations, for, with the exception of Sarpetri, their subsequent attitude shows no change of mind at all. Santa María, the Franciscan, certainly did not sign (AME 423, *covering letter*) and Navarrete, giving his version to Bishop Pallu later, says that not all signed (AME 423, f. 212), while the *Controversias* (295, 330) explain that on this particular question no vote was taken. Instead they all rose from the discussion, and Navarrete announced that he would submit written objections. Despite this, he goes on, the Jesuits, without consulting him or Santa María, sent off the Minutes to Macao to Father Visitor Gama. Friar Domingo wrote a report, which he handed over to the Jesuits on 8 March 1668 (*C* 324); and on 18 April they replied, reaffirming that for them the question had been decisively settled by the papal decree of 1656, given to Father Martini on the basis of his description of the Rites in Rome. They regretted, they said, this new dust-storm of doubts now being stirred up by Navarrete, whose

[1] For the background to this decree see pp. lxiii, 58n, 124 above.

intentions might be good, but whose allegations and misinterpretations of remarks could only be harmful to the Society. This statement and other relevant papers, annotated by Navarrete, was sent by him to Gama, from whom he begged a plain answer, adding that he was not following any party-line, but only desirous of reaching the truth, 'that truth which is neither thine, nor mine, nor this man's or another's, but the common property of us all'.

On 12 May Gama, having acknowledged the letter with a tactful reply, settled down to study the matter. In the subsequent months, the Jesuits in Canton, no doubt exasperated by what seemed to them like obstinacy, no longer regarded Navarrete as a source of fun (Cortés Osorio, 90–1), and retaliated by sending him and Santa María to coventry, until they were all suddenly driven into each other's arms by Father Gama's reply.

But, apart from healing this unhappy breach, Father Gama's contribution to the discussion had no other beneficial effects. A narrow-minded martinet, ignorant of China and alienated by what he had seen of the Chinese during the blockade of Macao (Gama, *Diary* I, 182; II, 753), he now proposed to alter some of the points agreed upon during the Canton Conference (ibid. II, 751); and the Jesuits saw, to their astonishment (ARSI, JapSin 162, f. 210), that on some issues he seemed to be siding with the friars. Each group could now show a tonsured enemy scalp to its credit: the Jesuits had one friar-ally and the friars, in return, could claim a Jesuit Visitor. More remarkably, on some points both friar and Jesuit stood in alliance against the Visitor, and Father Rougemont complained to Rome that Gama opposed Navarrete's proposed settlement of the question whether or not converts should be allowed to hear Mass with their heads covered. Not only was Gama ill-advised, but he was also obstinate; and, wrote Father Rougemont to the Jesuit General, not even Navarrete, 'who defended his own, and our, opinion in a lengthy and learned memorandum', had been able to convince the Visitor of the error of his ways (ibid. f. 249). Rougemont, moreover, saw this as an end of their hopes of reaching agreement with the friars. Father Gama, however, remained firm, rejected all the Jesuits' protests, and enjoined absolute obedience (*Diary* II, 754).

The situation has an element of farce, but it was a grim farce for those involved in it, and for Navarrete it offered a lesson: practically the entire complement of Jesuits in China were in Canton with the friars, and the situation had therefore seemed ideal for reaching an agreement. Yet that agreement, hammered out in painful debate, was now to be cast aside because once again the Jesuits could not unite among themselves upon a programme which the friars might then discuss with them. This disunity was underlined by another, and electrifying, surprise, because the Franciscan, Santa María, chose this moment to show Navarrete his copy of the banned treatise, unknown as yet to the rest of the friars, written long before by the dissident Jesuit Longobardi, Ricci's chosen successor. The effect of this revelation upon Navarrete can hardly be over-estimated.

Moreover, this fresh failure to reach agreement concerned only minor points, and the basic issue, the question of the Rites as raised by Sarpetri, still remained to be settled. Towards the end of 1668 Gama ordered Fathers Le Favre and Brancati to answer Navarrete's objections on this score. These two, Le Favre, the Jesuits' theologian in the mission, and Brancati, their best Sinologue, a man with thirty-four years' experience of China, were presumably the most formidable team the China Jesuits could field. Within a few months their replies were submitted: Le Favre's 'Compendiosa responsio', handed over in March 1669, patiently explained the Jesuit interpretation of the Rites, concentrating on an appeal to the friars to show a more broadminded and tolerant attitude, to distinguish precepts of obligation from counsels of perfection, warning them against the heresies that spring from excessive severity, and hinting at traces of Jansenism in the Society's opponents. Undeterred by this spokesman for the opposition, Navarrete set down his answers to Le Favre's case, point by point and with equal patience, reminding the Jesuits that the 'Riccistas' had no monopoly of knowledge of China, for Father Longobardi had spent 57 years working in the mission.

Le Favre's 'Responsio' was backed up on 25 June by Father Brancati's. Despite his knowledge of Chinese, Brancati was probably not the best choice for the task of convincing Navarrete

to follow the Jesuits peacefully. A man of impetuous temperament, afflicted with gout and perhaps on that account irritable, he was extremely zealous, but intransigent and tactless in debate which for him was all cut and thrust, since he made a personal issue of the question raised. His seventy-two-page reply to Navarrete was, he later explained, a blow for his 'Father and Mother, *hoc est*, the Society of Jesus and its Glorious Founder', and he dismissed the Dominican's charges by calling them the work of 'liars whose leader [Navarrete] is the father of liars'. There was an arrogant tone in his reply when he asked how the friars, who had only arrived in the mission a few years before, could know as much about China as the Jesuits who had been there for 90 years and written 300 books.[1]

This was too much for the Dominicans to swallow, and friar Varo later distinguished Brancati's treatise from Le Favre's by saying that the former had much to answer for, and that his improper manner was quite unjustified since Navarrete's memorandum had been courteous. Not surprisingly, Navarrete was infuriated and, when asked to return Brancati's treatise, replied that he had burnt it, although later he produced it and handed it back. Brancati had, in fact, made some telling points and, after opening with a warning that 'a war of letters could be worse than a war of weapons', he went on to appeal to the mendicants to join the Jesuits in making the Faith easy for the Chinese, to 'give milk to these children in the Faith until they are stronger'. According to Brancati's nephew, Sarpetri, friar Domingo confessed that he was moved when he read the treatise. If this were so it would be ample proof of Navarrete's disinterested sincerity that, in face of insult, he could see the truth in Brancati's argument. But Sarpetri is not unbiased, and he probably misunderstood an ironical remark. Navarrete may well have been moved by Brancati's memorandum;

[1] The treatises of Brancati and Le Favre were published in 1700, that of Brancati probably based on the MS prepared by the Macao copyists from which, as Varo was told in 1680, much was omitted, doubtless with a view to toning down its sharpness. For bibliographical details, and references to MSS in the BVE and AJUDA, see Streit, V, 838, 841; VII, 1; see also MSS in AME, vols. 476, 280. Varo, unaware that Navarrete had answered them, did so himself (BM, Add. MS 16933, 227 ff.). Brancati's sinological scholarship is attacked at *C* 361.

he was clearly provoked by it; but he was certainly not convinced by it, as is evident from the tone of his reply, which is among the angrier pages of the *Controversias*. For he allows himself to refer to Father Brancati by his nickname ('the white elephant'), and proceeds to analyse both him and his nephew, Sarpetri, in terms of the humour-psychology of Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios*, finally deciding that Sicilian stubbornness explains everything (*C* 19; *T* 160). Navarrete's counter-blast, however, is not a mere return of abuse received, and he argues passionately, but reasonably, in defence of his position. Once, at least, he reaches an almost lyrical tone in his *apologia* where he sums up the friars' suspicions and objections in a passage of sustained force and vigour. He was now carrying on his battle on two fronts, for Father-Visitor Gama, who was still holding out in his own position over in Macao, despatched to him in August a batch of letters about, as he noted in his diary (II, 755), 'that long-standing business of his'.

Yet despite what seemed to him obstinacy and provocation, and despite his own tenacity, friar Domingo made one more attempt to come to agreement with the Jesuits. On 29 September 1669 he had a long talk with the Jesuit Vice-Provincial Gouveia, a Portuguese whom, as a person, he disliked. Nevertheless they seriously discussed the possibility of adopting an interim policy. Although in this conversation Navarrete stressed that his four years living with the Fathers in Canton had only confirmed him in his convictions (Biermann, *Die Anfänge*, 123), there are signs that both sides were tiring (*C* 358) and anxious for a settlement. Gouveia made some diplomatic remarks implying agreement with Navarrete's viewpoint on certain heads (*C* 396, 398), but insisting that he repeat his overtures in writing ('Ends', f. 44), with the result that on the same day Navarrete wrote suggesting that both sides should cede a little ground and adopt, as a working arrangement, the terms of the Jesuit Conference of Hang-chou in 1642.[1] These terms, which were too vague to be a sound basis for

[1] Fr Brucker incorrectly states (*DTC* ibid) that after reading Brancati's treatise, Navarrete offered to follow and abide by the terms of the 1656 decree. But the acceptability of that decree was, of course, the very bone of contention, and Navarrete did not accept its validity.

agreement, were not recognized by the Jesuits, who, in reply, disowned the Hang-chou meeting, which they said they had never heard of before, and asserted that it could not have been a serious policy discussion since there was no record of it in their archives. When Navarrete handed over copies of the Minutes, they rejected them, again pressing the friars to accept the terms of the Martini decree of 1656, although Navarrete had steadily refused to agree to them all along. He was, further, somewhat surprised by this stipulation since Gouveia, in private conversation, had implied that he himself was not entirely satisfied with the report Martini had submitted to Rome (*C* 362). But there is no reason to suppose that Gouveia was insincere; it is more likely that he had, meantime, been prevailed upon by a more intransigent and stronger personality, such as Brancati, to reject Navarrete's offer (to follow the Hang-chou meeting) and to seize the chance to press for the acceptance of the 1656 decree. Once again, then, there was deadlock. At this delicate moment, however, Navarrete's dilemma was solved by events from outside. Early in October an Imperial decree came down from Peking, and from their reading of it they concluded that there was little hope of their being able to return to their churches in the interior. For Navarrete, of course, this blow also meant that, if they were not to be permitted to work again in China within the foreseeable future, there was no point in struggling to reach an interim agreement with the Jesuits.

Accordingly he withdrew his offer to accept the Hang-chou terms. Gouveia's earlier and rather surprising insistence that Navarrete's proposals be submitted to him in writing, and his acuteness in subsequently having them certified by friar Sarpetri as genuine autographs, thereby forestalling any attempt to disown them later, now began to pay dividends. For the Jesuits were able to despatch copies of Navarrete's offer to Rome; to claim that he had recently been quite willing to follow their practice in the mission; and, moreover, to present his subsequent withdrawal of that offer as a discreditable *volte-face*, for, obviously, Gouveia had not troubled to insist upon a certified autograph copy of Navarrete's explanation of why he had withdrawn his offer. From the point of view of debating strategy the material now sent to Rome far

outstripped the value of the anthologies of friars' praise that Verbiest was sending there, because this appeared to be clear evidence that the Mendicants were basically unsure of their own position. Navarrete had been out-manoeuvred and, moreover, he seems not to have realized it, for he made no attempt to secure himself against the advantage he had just given the Jesuits. Not only that, but with his position unwittingly weakened he now made another decision which, more than any other, was later to be used against him. He decided to leave the internment-centre secretly and make for Macao.

He had never wavered in his conviction that the problems of the mission would never be settled in China but in Rome and by papal decision; and he had from the beginning of the internment wanted to be allowed to go to present the friars' case. The need for this had been emphasised by recent events: above all, because the Jesuits had despatched a spokesman from Canton, Father Intorcetta, to put their views before the Holy See once again. Moreover, it became known that this man was also carrying letters from the friar-rebel, Sarpetri, in support of the Jesuits' methods, letters which were regarded as little short of treachery. The friars' position was therefore desperate, and it demanded desperate action. When Intorcetta had left the internment-house his place had been taken, as had been arranged, by another priest sent across from Macao for the purpose, so that the number of internees would be the same if the Chinese decided to take a roll-call. The difference in features would not be noticed by the Chinese to whom European faces all seemed the same: the important thing was to keep the number of internees steady. Seeing Intorcetta's example, Navarrete decided to follow suit, to leave Canton for the Philippines or Europe, to report to his superiors personally, to disown Sarpetri's attitude, to present the friars' case, and thus to prepare the way for a final and definitive decision from the only source able to give one. When the Imperial decree had reached them, the missionaries had asked their confidant John Li Pe Ming for his advice, and he had replied that they could go to Macao whenever they asked to: what was, however, clearly impossible was to go back to the interior. Fortified by this, Navarrete attempted to get permission from the

Chinese, but the Jesuits, unwilling to see him depart for Europe, managed to thwart these efforts (*C* 605; R 46). Accordingly, on the night of 9 December 1669, as a last resort, he left the residence secretly and made for Macao to seek transport for Manila or Europe.

Accusations that he had fled, leaving his colleagues in dire peril, were an obvious consequence. Father Gouveia wrote off to the Jesuit General complaining of this sudden flight, which seemed to him the worse because Navarrete had been there with them for four years 'eating at our expence'; and he warned the General that if Navarrete managed to reach Rome he would bring trouble because he had taken with him 'his papers, his presumption, and his great lip' (ARSI, JapSin 162, ff. 297–8). Others, too, thought Navarrete's unexpected departure was important and Father Herdtrich, as has been said, even went to the length of informing the Holy Roman Emperor. In view of all this, it is at first sight surprising that in the *Tratados* Navarrete mentions the flight from Canton with great casualness and without any excuses, and clearly still thought that there was nothing in his decision or action that required to be defended. It is only after criticism began to reach him that he attempts to explain his reasons for this precipitate move (*C* 89, 259, 604–10; R 27, 46). He had foreseen, he said, that the Jesuits would bring in a substitute from Macao, just as they had done for their own Father Intorcetta when he left. There would not be any difficulty about this, because there were plenty of Fathers there longing to get into China; especially at that particular time when there were more Jesuits than ever in Macao College, which was 'packed to the attic' by refugee Fathers from Tonkin and Cochinchina, where there was also persecution (Rouleau, *Siqueira*, 28). But in any case his departure took place during the third period of their detention, when conditions had improved considerably, the roll-calls had ceased, and they were no longer under surveillance as they had been when Intorcetta had left the Residence. Father Rougemont, for example, confirms Navarrete's remark that after 1668 the tempo slackened and the internees were able to leave the house for as long as a whole day at a time. Thus there was little

likelihood of a snap check proving an embarrassment to the internees. But had the worst come to the worst, and had they been faced with a sudden resumption of the roll-calls, they could easily have called upon the large suite attending the Portuguese ambassador who was in Canton, and who had been detained there for some time, awaiting permission to go to Peking. In an emergency any of these Europeans could have covered Navarrete's absence during the few days in which he was travelling to Macao and his replacement was travelling to Canton.

The best answer to the accusations was to point to the results. For, in fact, nothing happened, to the Jesuits' disappointment, wrote Navarrete later, because if trouble had followed upon his departure, it would have served the Fathers' cause so well that, 'I make no doubt of it, they'd give all the Capital of their Provinces of Japan and China, and that willingly!' (*C* 608). The accusations of cowardice were quickly disposed of: would a man who stood firm, even surrendered himself to the authorities at the beginning of the persecution when all looked black or (at best) uncertain, would such an one fly in fear when the persecution was over, and there was no danger—except that of boredom? (R 27).

And as he had foreseen, just as Intorcetta's place was taken by a priest from Macao, so Navarrete's place was taken by Father Grimaldi. The friars thought that the Jesuits had nothing to complain about: 'they have gained a mathematician and we have lost a great missioner', wrote friar Varo, and they agreed that Navarrete's departure was essential to their cause.[1] Father Grimaldi, who had a distinguished career in China, later wrote, 'I took upon myself the name of that man who became the accuser of my brethren, and who even after death still breathes threats; I took even the Chinese name of friar Navarrete, *Min Min ngo*, and have retained it until this very day, thus deceiving the Chinese, for whenever the Emperor calls for *Min Min ngo*, I play his role here on earth. I wonder, will I have to represent him in Heaven too?' ('Responsio', Peking, 15 October 1705; RAH 9/2664).

It is of interest to note that, though Navarrete's precipitate de-

[1] CASA 1074, ff. 298, 303; AOPM, MS 'Historia de la provincia del Ssm. Rosario', by fray Juan de los Angeles, f. 316.

parture was said to have caused great danger and alarm, Father-Visitor Gama's meticulous diary makes no mention whatever of the matter, no mention of his two interviews with Navarrete in Macao, nor of his having to depute Grimaldi as a substitute and authorize his departure for Canton. On the other hand Father Cortés Osorio made the most of it (*Reparos* 3–10). He described friar Domingo as an infamous deserter, guilty of abandoning the Christian army in the face of the enemy, and thought his departure had the appearance of apostasy, for Navarrete, he said, in that band of apostles, had played the Judas to Grimaldi's Mathias. Father Cortés professed himself puzzled, as indeed he might well, that anyone of this description had come to be appointed Procurator of the Philippine Province in Madrid.

Some apologists tried to defend Navarrete from his critics and the Jesuit historian Pray fell upon one such who, presumably confusing Navarrete with Intorcetta, had said that he was sent to Rome as a representative of the others to propose their doubts there: 'what doubts, and by what Missionaries?' asked Pray indignantly (*Historia*, 67). Nevertheless, despite this warning, some Jesuits good-naturedly continue to score goals for the wrong side: Father Colombel (*Histoire*, II, 198) states that Navarrete's place was taken by Father Grimaldi who was waiting for an opportunity to enter China, and this exchange was so successful that the Jesuits decided in 1670 to allow Intorcetta to leave and be replaced by another. On the other hand, attempts at neutrality also result in some curious versions, and according to Couling (486) 'Navarrete . . . happened to flee to Macao'.

APPENDIX II

NAVARRETE AND PALLU

The return to Madagascar from the Cape, which Navarrete regretted as a delay, turned out to be profitable because it brought him into contact with François Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, one of the new Vicars-Apostolic appointed by Rome, and chief of the founders of the French Foreign Mission Society of Paris.[1] Pallu's position and work were symbolical of the official Roman break with the *padroado* and of France's emergence as the new dominant missionary power. He himself seems to have believed that God had called the French nation to set right in the East what the Iberians between them had bungled (*Lettres*, I, 392–403). Others, less spiritually-minded, saw political possibilities in the missions, and Louis XIV was particularly generous with help for the missionaries through whom he hoped to see the spread of French influence. On the way back to the East the Bishop's ship had been held up in Madagascar, and he was staying with the French Lazarists, members of yet another young French foundation of missionaries.[2] At first these made no effort to accommodate Navarrete, and the Capuchin, Ambroise de Preusty, was much more helpful. Navarrete may have been puzzled by this coolness, but the explanation is to be found elsewhere, for a few months earlier the Lazarist Superior-General had written from Paris (*Mémoires*, IX, 569), warning them not to admit transient clergy

[1] For Pallu, see L. Baudiment, *François Pallu, principal fondateur de la SME* (Paris, 1934); the memoir by M. Pallu, *Essais biographiques* (Le Mans, 1863); the *Lettres 1658–84*; G. Goyau, *Les Prêtres des missions étrangères* (Paris, 1932); A. Launay, *Mémorial de la Société des missions étrangères (1658–1912)* (Paris, 1912–16, 2 vols.).

[2] For the Lazarists, see G. Goyau, *La Congrégation de la mission des Lazaristes* (Paris, 1938); for them in Madagascar, see the *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, IX, (Madagascar), (Paris, 1866), which contains little-known accounts of Madagascar.

too readily to their house because in the recent past some travelling priests had abused this hospitality by persuading members of the Lazarist community to abandon Madagascar and accompany them to China. Unfortunately, these ecclesiastical pied-pipers are not identified in the printed text, though doubtless they were in the original. They are unlikely to have been Jesuits.

Obeying this command, the Lazarists therefore made no move to invite friar Domingo to their house until the French laymen travelling with him insisted that something be done. Thus Pallu and Navarrete came to meet, and once they met they became firm friends and remained so until the end of their lives.[1]

Pallu felt a deep concern for the China mission, which fell within his jurisdiction, and Navarrete was equipped to discuss the matter as no one else could, so that the Bishop, who was profoundly impressed by him, concluded their meeting was an act of Providence. A voluminous letter-writer, he now poured out the warmest praise of Navarrete in a stream of reports to Rome and Paris: to Leslie, the Scottish priest who was Cardinal Barberini's Chaplain, and Agent of the Scottish bishops, he wrote that he had profited by the meeting and felt prepared for his work as a result.[2] To the Cardinals of Propaganda Fide, Pallu was more enthusiastic: 'I can scarcely express the joy I have had from our conversations, for he [Navarrete] is most experienced in the affairs of China, especially in what pertains to the state of Christianity there', adding that Navarrete deserved the title of Apostle far more than did many others in the East.[3]

Navarrete was also able to give Pallu news of some of his own colleagues, the French members of the Foreign Mission Society, and of Portuguese opposition to the French interests then in-

[1] He was still quoting Navarrete in 1681 (A. Launay, *Documents historiques* (Paris, 1905) 167), and in 1680 they were still in touch (R 20). For Pallu's Chaplain, Courtaulin, on the meeting of these two, see AME, 972, f. 57–8.

[2] For Pallu as a letter-writer, see Baudiment, 253. For an unsympathetic view of Leslie, see Hay. Pallu's letter to Leslie is in *Lettres*, I, 128–9; the *'secunda via'* copy is to be found in the Blairs Archives, Scotland, and since Pallu often added postscripts to these, the Blairs copy differs, though slightly and insignificantly, from that printed in the *Lettres*.

[3] Pallu, II, 36–7.

sinuating themselves into Asia.[1] Another subject of enthralling interest was the Canton Conference. Pallu had already had news of the internment through a letter of the French Jesuit Valat (AME 426, ff. 23–4) but the Conference and subsequent events were new, and he therefore despatched a report of it, as seen by Navarrete, to Propaganda Fide (Launay, *Documents*, I, 68–9). One of the questions raised in the Conference was of particular interest to both men: the possibility of establishing a native clergy in the Asian missions. This was one of the principal aims of the Foreign Mission Society and a constant preoccupation of Pallu.[2] Friar Domingo's discussion of the subject with Pallu had remarkable results, for he was able to point out that the Dominicans had shown foresight in anticipating the other missionaries by ordaining the Chinese Gregory Lo. Navarrete now urged that friar Lo should be consecrated first Bishop of China, and Pallu was convinced that this would be a wise move.

But Pallu was not the only one to benefit by this 'providential meeting', for he had news to give Navarrete, and just the sort of news he would have wished for. Thirty years earlier, in Mexico, Bishop Palafox had shown him Father Morales's treatise on the Rites question; more recently, in Canton, the Franciscan, Santa María, had shown him the banned treatise of Father Longobardi; now Pallu was to show him yet another unknown Jesuit memorandum. The Bishop explained that when he was in Siam some years earlier he had met two French Jesuits, Tissanier and Albier, who had told him about a Conference held by the China Jesuits in Kiating in 1628—almost forty years to the day before the Canton Conference—for the purpose of discussing the problems of the mission. The Kiating meeting had been called by the Visitor, Father Palmeiro, at a time when the disunity among the Jesuits was most acute, that is, just prior to the entry of the friars into the Mission. Longobardi was at this meeting and in several instances his viewpoint convinced the Father Visitor. But in the end nothing

[1] The strange tale about Hainques in Pallu, II, 39–40, may have come through Navarrete, who, however, makes no mention of it in his own works.

[2] See, for instance, C. M. de Melo, SJ, *Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisbon, 1955), 252–3, 320.

was settled, the controversy continued, and the Jesuits resolved to keep the whole business of the conference a secret among themselves. Pallu's two informants begged him not to mention the subject to anyone and he had not done so previously, but no doubt it seemed to him legitimate to discuss it with Navarrete, whom he accepted as an expert able to throw light on these vital problems. Pallu gave Navarrete a copy of the report of this meeting, and, since the friars had never heard of it before, he later published it, 'that all may see the great division there is among the Fathers of the Society upon serious issues, though they try in their writings to give the opposite impression' (*C* 109–37).[1] When in his writings Navarrete calls upon the Jesuits to follow the policy of the veterans of the mission, as being wiser and nearer the truth, it is of some of the members of this conference that he was thinking. Why the two Jesuits chose to reveal the information to Pallu remained a question. Navarrete thought it was the will of God; the Jansenists, when their turn came, agreed that it was *'une espèce de miracle'*.[2]

The talks between Pallu and Navarrete were frequent, long and harmonious,[3] and before he left the island Pallu, having persuaded Navarrete to go first to Paris, sent off another batch of letters to Europe: one, to the Paris headquarters of the Foreign Missions Society, informing it that Navarrete would call on it, ordered that he be given all help necessary and assisted on his way to Rome subsequently. To Richelieu's pious niece, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, he wrote much the same: Providence had delayed him in Madagascar so that he might meet Navarrete, and as a result he now felt better prepared for work in the China mission, which was in a serious state of disturbance and on the way to ruin. News from China, as Pallu realised, was also politically interesting, so he despatched a summary of what he had learnt from friar Domingo

[1] The Jesuits who gave the Minutes to Pallu are identified at 'Ends', f. 44. The Society's apologists denounced them as a forgery, but this is refuted by Rosso, 100–2; Biermann, *Die Anfänge*, 173–4. The papers were, of course, not the official copy of the Minutes, but the copy belonging to one of the Jesuits present.

[2] For the meeting of Pallu with Albier and Tissanier, see Chappoulie, I, 156.

[3] Among the many references to Pallu are: *C* 207, 208, 309, 316, 332, 387, 395, 401, 402, besides those in the *Tratados*.

to Colbert, for the attention of the King, and he obviously hoped that Colbert would receive Navarrete when he reached Paris. These recommendations carried weight, for Pallu was highly thought of in political quarters, besides being regarded as a saint with the gift of miracles. By August, when he left Madagascar carrying letters from Navarrete to his Dominican colleagues in the East, the Bishop had been completely won over to Navarrete's view, although not all the talk had been criticism of the Jesuits, for Navarrete had praised the three Jesuits in Peking, 'men outstanding for their learning and zeal for souls', and spoken well of the French Jesuits he had known, such as Valat and Rougemont.[1]

Nor did the reluctant Lazarists regret having given a lodging to Navarrete. Indeed he seems to have had a talent for pleasing the French. The local superior, Fr Ignace-Marin Roguet, wrote on 26 October 1671, just before Navarrete left, explaining to his Superior-General in Paris how he had had to accommodate Bishop Pallu and 'could not refuse receiving a good Religious, a Spaniard coming from China where he had been Superior of the Dominican mission', because the Bishop had wanted to get information from him about China. Roguet then went on to describe the edifying example set them by Navarrete during his three months living there. Since he was going to Paris on business, he had promised the Lazarists that he would call on their Superior-General, and Roguet warmly recommended him as a source of reliable information, not only on China but on the Madagascar mission also, about which he would be able to say more than all their letters. 'He is not a roving, gadabout Religious, like many others, but a venerable man of very sound judgement, and punctilious (*regulier*) in the last degree.'[2]

Pallu and Navarrete had said good-bye but they were destined to meet again. The Bishop continued his journey East and in 1674 reached the Philippines, where a storm forced him to land. From the beginning the Spanish authorities there regarded him with suspicion, and when a rumour went about that he had come to

[1] AME 107, ff. 209–10; 856, f. 499; *FF* III, 273; Pallu, I, 135; II, 37, 206–7, 350; 352.
[2] *Mémoires*, IX, 576.

foment a rising with Dominican help there were officials ready to believe the incredible story. On 27 October he was placed under open arrest. The original reason for his arrest may have been political (the Dominican Master-General thought so), but other reasons accumulated. He was said to be a Jansenist as well as a spy, and when his papers were seized they were found to include a number of incriminating documents, one of which was a complaint by a friar about the Governor of the Philippines. The Jesuits, too, were involved and sent a catalogue of the papers in Pallu's possession to Rome, from which it seems that he had with him a number of adverse reports on the Society and also, for he was a man who loved secrets, was carrying a code in which the Society was referred to as 'Berenice'.[1] The Jesuits' attitude towards the Vicars-Apostolic, and other circumstantial evidence, led some people to believe that they were behind the arrest. The Bishop himself thought so, and for friar Domingo it was merely a repetition of the Palafox story, this time, however, in a minor key. The Governor of the Philippines explained to Madrid why he had ordered the arrest (AGI, Filipinas 305) and at the same time the news reached Rome, whereupon the Dominican Master-General instantly ordered Navarrete, as Procurator of the Philippine Province, to take all possible steps to help Pallu. Navarrete wrote urgently to the Dominicans in the Philippines, conferred with the Royal Confessor, a fellow-Dominican, and submitted a report to the Council of the Indies defending the Vicars-Apostolic, pointing out from personal experience the dangers of the Manila coast and how easily a ship might be driven to take shelter there in a storm, without there being any ulterior motive behind such action (AGI, Filipinas 305). As the news spread, concern and indignation spread with it. Louis XIV wrote to the Pope, and to the Jesuit General, while the Cardinals of Propaganda Fide were even moved to send Pallu a gift of money through the Nuncio in Madrid. The Spanish Government, alarmed by the reaction, despatched orders that Pallu was to be sent to Spain, where he arrived at the end of 1676 to find the Spaniards desperately anxious

[1] AROP IV, 147, f. 269; ARSI, JapSin 162, ff. 378–83; AGN, Inquisición 438, ff. 263–84. Pallu, I, 134, 295; II, 44, 50, 296. *C* 103, 608, 625.

to make amends. When he reached Madrid on 18 January 1677, the Papal Nuncio, Count Medellín, President of the Council of the Indies, and Navarrete, waited upon him, the latter with letters and sums of money for him.

The whole incident had been embarrassing for the Government, but it was quickly smoothed over. And in this operation Navarrete, as a friend of Pallu, was a useful go-between and mediator. Within a short time Pallu, lodged in the Madrid convent of the calced Trinitarians, was writing to his Paris headquarters that the affair had been happily concluded. He bore the Spanish no resentment and, overwhelmed with kindnesses, tried in his turn to please them, so that when they insisted on taking him to visit the Escorial he went 'more to please these gentlemen than for my own satisfaction'.[1]

Meantime for the next three months he and Navarrete were able to mull over old and new events. Pallu's indignation against the Philippine Jesuits was not likely to be calmed by Navarrete; and when, for example, Pallu could relate how he had been denounced by Father Luis Pimentel to the Mexican Inquisition, Navarrete could cap this by revealing that Pimentel, whom he knew personally, had, the previous year, denounced the friars of China and the Vicars-Apostolic to the same Inquisition (*C* 98). What Navarrete did not know was that Pimentel had also pointed him out to Rome as the fiercest opponent of the China Jesuits (ARSI, JapSin 163, f. 9).

On 31 January a meeting was held in the Trinitarian monastery at which the problems of the mission were discussed, and Navarrete took the opportunity to get Pallu to re-affirm 'in the presence of worthy witnesses' that the minutes of the Kiating meeting had been given to him by Fathers Tissanier and Albier ('Ends', f. 44).

The Pallu affair had two important results for Navarrete. First, it occurred just after the appearance of Cortés Osorio's ill-informed attack on him and just after he had been denounced to the Madrid Inquisition; when, in addition, he was receiving

[1] AME 6, f. 402, 427; 202, f. 105; Pallu, II, 96, 296, 358, 362. Chappoulie, II, 1–5; Baudiment, 318–23.

letters from friars in China (and from friars who had been prevented from entering China) which showed that conditions there had not improved, and might, even, be thought worse.[1] In January 1677, then, his temper might be expected to be at its warmest. And this, of course, coincided with the beginning of the writing of the *Controversias*. If this background of events be considered, it is possible to understand the anger and bitterness evident in parts of that work, and it is easier to appreciate what a modern sympathizer means when he describes the *Controversias* as being of a 'moderate tenor' (Rosso, 125, 102n.). Secondly, in his double role of friend of Pallu and agent for the Dominican Master-General, the affair had brought him into contact with important members of the Council of the Indies; in an awkward situation he had shown ability and resourcefulness, and a few months later, when they needed a man with those qualities for the Archbishopric of Santo Domingo, they were to remember him. It also, in a lesser way, established him as a link between the new French missionaries, the Vicars-Apostolic, and the China mission (AME, 858, f. 195; 103, f. 272).[2]

[1] Friar Varo, for example, was still reporting at the end of 1671 that for the Jesuits 'the door is open but it is ever closed to all the rest', and in 1673 it was the same story: only Jesuits can enter China by way of Macao (CASA 1074, ff. 290, 298–9). The Franciscans, at this same period, make similar complaints and friar Ibáñez declared that the Jesuits would not let friars attend their converts even when the latter were sick (*SinFran*, III, 89: and see also 70, 100, 102, 116, 132, 139, 223–4).

[2] Father Pimentel, who accused Pallu of Jansenism, appears to have believed that he and the Dominicans were plotting to have the Jesuits expelled from their Asian missions (Newberry Library, Chicago, Arco transcripts, III, 678). The Dominicans had aroused suspicions not only by corresponding with the French Bishops but also by allowing a visiting French priest to study Chinese in their Manila priory; they defended themselves vigorously against these accusations, but when Pallu was under arrest in Manila not even the Dominican Inquisitor was allowed to interview him unless a Jesuit was present (AGN, Inquisición 438, ff. 263–84; 1548, ff. 189–91). The measure of Spanish mistrust may be seen in references to Pallu as the 'self-styled Bishop of Heliopolis'. Extraordinary precautions were taken so that Pallu should not see any Spanish fortifications or defences and he was not allowed to pass through Mexico City or Puebla on his way to Spain. Despite this he was seen asking questions and making notes in Acapulco, and the Warden there warned that if he ever reached France the result would be a French attack on the Manila Galleon. As a result his papers were confiscated (AGN, Historia 389, ff. 72–8).

APPENDIX III

NAVARRETE AND CONY

Navarrete's remark that the 'little Governor' of Santa Helena was at odds with his Parson is well borne out by the manuscript records and letters in the India Office, London.[1] In fact, Cony seems to have been at odds with practically everyone in the island and his kindness to Navarrete was not in character. Shortly before, he had mistreated even English sea-captains, 'threatening to beat some of them . . . takeing another of them by the Coller . . . telling them in common they had nothing to do ashore, and might goe on board and finish their Prowleings if they would'. Two months earlier a Portuguese captain had been harshly treated, and the islanders feared that this behaviour would gain them a bad reputation. Nor did they themselves fare much better, for Cony 'would not let them have soe much as a little Butter, and Cheese or milk from the Dairie, for their tendr. Babes, though he would sell abundance too the portugalls and other fforeigners to his own profit'. And the unhappy islanders concluded that 'never were Compa. & people soe gen'lly slighted and abused since St Hellena was St Hellena as they have bin by this Govr. to this day'.[2] Cony was interested in religion, and this may have been one reason why he got on so well with friar Domingo, for he had few others to talk to about anything and was just then in the middle of a bitter quarrel with his own Chaplain, Noakes. The two were busy denouncing each other to the East India Company's headquarters in London, and according to Cony, Chaplain Noakes was a 'person scandlous to ye Ministry in his life and conversation & a seditious troublesome person' who had 'preached treason, sedition, schisme & heresy in a certain sermon'. He was

[1] For an account of the island at this period, see G. C. Kitching, 'The Loss and Recapture of St Helena, 1673', *Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVI (1950), 58–68.

[2] IOL, Original Correspondence, (1673), v. 35, Item 3681, ff. 1–4.

also, 'a non-Conformist to ye Church of England though a parson yt doth baptize, burry, marry, but ye Govr. having pressed him severall times to administer ye blessed Communion to ye inhabitants he declared yt ye inhabitants of ye Island were not capable of receiving it'. Parson Noakes, on his side, denounced the Governor for pocketing official funds, suppressing liberty, and displaying 'insolence and opposition to, and derision of us, both in words and farargo after ye Spanish mode', adding that he 'hath lett fall dangerous Expressions and withall is very careless of the safety and defence of ye island'. After Navarrete's visit matters came to a head when the locals decided to depose Cony, declaring 'to all persons to whom these presents shall concern, we, ye poor distressed inhabitants, send greetings . . . ye present Govr. Richd. Cony Esquire doth all things contrary . . . we doe declare that we think him not a person fit to be intrusted in ye place of Govern'.[1]

[1] IOL, Original Correspondence, (1673), v. 35, Item 3662, f. 1; Item 3669, f. 1; Item 3665, f. 1; Item 3670, f. 1; Item 3681, f. 3.

APPENDIX IV

THE PROJECTED TITLE-PAGE OF THE *CONTROVERSIAS* AS SET OUT IN NAVARRETE'S HAND

(BNM Raros 2012)

THE CONTROVERSIES / BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN BETWEEN THE MISSIONERS OF CHINA, / DIVIDED INTO NINE BOOKS WHICH DEAL WITH THE CULT AND VENERATION / THAT THE CHINESES PAY TO THEIR PROTO-MASTER CONFUCIUS, AND TO THEIR / DEAD ANCESTORS, TOGETHER WITH THE ANSWER TO DIVERS TREATISES BY THE / FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. / A WORK VERY USEFUL AND NECESSARY FOR ALL MISSIONERS. / By the Reverend Friar Master Domingo Fern. Naverrete, / Professor of Morning Classes in the College and University of / St Thomas in Manila, Apostolick Missioner in Great CHINA, / Vicar-Provincial and sometime Superior of his Order in that / Mission, and Procurator-General of the Province of the Holy / Rosary in the Philippines, of the Order of Preachers. / ¶ Dedicated to our most Holy Father Innocent XI, who now rules the / Church, to the Sacred Congregations of the Holy Office, and of / Propaganda Fide, and to the Holy Tribunal of the General Inquisition / of the Kingdoms of SPAIN.

VOLUME TWO

APPENDIX V

THE PUBLISHER'S PROJECTED TITLE-PAGE FOR THE *CONTROVERSIAS*

(BNP MS esp. 155)

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPIRE OF CHINA / HISTORICAL POLITICAL MORAL AND RELIGIOUS / VOLUME TWO / WHICH TREATS OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN / CONTROVERSIES OF THE MISSIONS OF CHINA AND JAPAN. / By the Reverend Master Friar Domingo Fernández Navarrete / Professor of Morning Classes in the College and University of / ST THOMAS AT MANILA. Apostolick Missioner in CHINA Superior / of those of his Mission and Procurator-General at the Court of / MADRID for the Province of the Holy Rosary in the PHILIPPINE / Islands, of the Order of Preachers.

[Below, left: Stamp] Bib. Sainte Genevieve. [Below, right: Stamp] Bib. Imperiale / [Below, centred:] With Permission. / In Madrid. At the Royal Printing House by Juan García Infançon. / At the cost of Florian Anisson, Book-Seller. / 1679.

APPENDIX VI

THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE TO THE PROJECTED EDITION OF THE *CONTROVERSIAS*

(BNP MS esp. 155)

The Book-seller To the Godly and Curious Reader.

Dear Reader, you'll ask me, perhaps, why this second Tome of the Illustrious Navarrete comes thus crippled, and without title or frontispiece, without its due prologues, approbations, licences, and all the rest that the first Volume had when it came forth from my Printing-house some three or four years ago; for this second Volume brings the same doctrine, as did that first, and those same truths that were so well received by all that love the Law of God and hunger for the true conversion of the heathen of Japan and China &c. I beg you'll not accuse me for this, since I do not fail in any part of my Office, rather printing faithfully all that the Author handed over and left me until, having once more set out from Spain, he was obliged to leave to another's care the printing of this Volume, of the third, and of the rest that he had prepared for the Printer, as shall be seen from this second volume. And he embarked for Santo Domingo, of which his Majesty CHARLES II, whom God preserve, had named him Archbishop and after his first Volume had been published with the satisfaction and protection of his Highness, the most Serene Prince, don John of Austria, Grand Prior of St John in the Kingdoms of Castille and Leon, Member of the Council of State, General of the Sea, Vicar-General of Aragon, and the other Dominions thereof, &c., to whom the Author dedicated his first Volume and would have dedicated this second had not the Prince died before its printing was completed. For the Prince,

don John of Austria, had been called to the Court of Madrid by his Majesty by whom he was loved and favoured as a brother, to the grievance and regret only of his enemies; and there, in the flower and strength of his days, he died upon the 17th September 1679 at the age of 50 years. And with him there died also the protection of this book and of the truths contained therein; and his enemies, taking spirit at the sudden favour that, as a result of that death, they now had in the Court and in the Supreme Council of the Inquisition; and its Author, moreover, being absent this long time in his Diocese of Santo Domingo in the Indies, they obtained that the work should be removed from the Printing-house, suppressing the book and carrying away all the copies and loose sheets of it that were found; and these all remained in the hands of the Ministers of the Holy Inquisition and in those of others opposed to, and envious of the Author and his book, except for a few that were already in the hands of lovers of that Truth that was hated by his enemies; and it is they, dear Reader, that you must blame, and not the Author, nor me, for that this book comes to you halt and lame, without brow, feet, head, beginning, or end. Weep, then, for the hurt and misfortune done to Truth, and rejoice, giving thanks to God, over your good fortune for that a safe copy, such as this of ours, comes thus into your hands.

Fare thee well.

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C *Controversias Antiguas y modernas entre los Missionarios de la gran China Repartidas en nueve tratados con lo que toca al culto y beneracion que el chino da a su Protho maestro Confucio y a sus progenitores difuntos con respuesta a diversos tratados de los Pes. de la Compañía de Jesus. Obra mui util y necessaria para todos los Missionarios por el M. fr. Domingo Fern. Navarrete Cathedratico de prima del collegio y universidad de S. Thomas de Manila Missionario Apostolico de la gran China Vicario Provincial y veses Prelado de los de su mission y Procurador General de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Philippinas orden de Predicadores. A nro. santissimo P. Innocencio XI que oi rige la Iglesia y sus sacras congregaciones del Santo Officio, de Propaganda Fide, y tribunal santo de la general Inquisicion de los reinos de España. tomo 2.* [Partially printed, Madrid, 1679; but never published. See above, pp. civ–cx.]

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